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Pro-Slavery.

A SOUTHERN SENATOR IN TAMMANY HALL.

[Speech of Hon. A. G. BROWN, U. S. Senator from Mississippi, at the Cuba-Filibuster meeting in Tammany Hall, New York, March 14. Reported in *The Herald.*]

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: I return the feeling you have expressed with my whole heart, and with the more cordiality because of your unanimous adoption of the resolutions just read. Cuba must and shall be ours (cheers). The decree has gone forth, and there exists nowhere on earth power to remove it. The only remaining question for us to consider is this: by what means shall we make the acquisition? Three modes have been proposed—first, by purchase; that I regard as the most honorable; second, by conquest, and that I regard as the most certain (applause); third, from the agency of the mysterious operation of that power known in political nomenclature by the name of filibusterism, and that I regard as the most probable (laughter); but whether by one or the other, or by all of these agencies combined, I say again that Cuba must and shall be ours (cheers), and the power does not exist on earth to prevent it. If Spain is disposed to sell the island, I, for one, stand prepared to pay for it. America is young, active, vigorous, prosperous, rich, and stands prepared to pay Spain one hundred millions, and, if that is not enough, to pay her two hundred millions of dollars and more; and if she be not disposed to sell, then my next proposition is to propose an investigation for the settlement of present and past difficulties. For the purpose of having indemnity for the past and security for the future—if Spain be indisposed to sell—I would seize Cuba (applause), seize it as indemnity for the past, and then negotiate for future security. If we can't nerve the government up to that point; if the proverbial timidity of old age, which presses heavily on Mr. Buchanan and General Cass, can't be brought to that point; if they will not direct the extending spirit of American freedom, I would repeal the laws, and cry "Speed to the filibuster, and let slip the dogs of war" (cheers). For one, my fellow-citizens, I have grown weary of this thing, of having young, proud, glorious America knocking at the door of Spain, and asking for admission. It is our policy not to ask justice, but to demand it, because it is our right. I would have no more dalliance with Spain—(Voice—"Nor with any other country!")—Yes, or with any other country (applause). It may be asked what do we want of Cuba? I'll tell you what we want of it. First, we want it for territorial expansion. "Let no pent up Utica contract our powers; the whole boundless universe shall be ours" (applause). I belong to that school of politics to which these resolutions refer, and do not fear the consequences of territorial expansion. If you had listened to those politicians who tell you that your territory is already large enough, or too large, you never would have had Louisiana, or Texas, or California. There were crokers who told you that your country was already large enough, and that it was overgrown. When Jefferson wanted to acquire Louisiana, statesmen from New England and some from New York said that it was a region of crocodiles and reptiles, unfit for the habitation of man. Mr. Jefferson said otherwise—that it was a great and glorious country, and we must have it; he pushed his policy forward, and the country became ours. He was told that the price paid was enormous; and now I ask you, if Tammany Hall was ten times its present size, and was all solid gold, if you would give up Louisiana and take it? (Voice, "No," "No.") And yet, it has been a little over half a century since this occurred. It is only fifteen years since we were told with reference to Texas that our territory was already too large, that the acquisition of Texas was not to be looked on as desirable, that the country, in fact, was of no value; in evidence of which it was stated that it lay between our possessions and the Spanish country, and had never been settled. I stood on the floor of Congress and heard charges brought against that good man—Polk (applause). Texas was acquired, and it proved a great deal better than any one had expected. Take California, too. A certain gentleman declared in the United States Senate that he would not give a rush for the whole country, and, as evidence of its want of value, instanced its laying two hundred years in the possession of Spain, and had never developed any resources. Now, in less than fifteen years we have got our millions and hundreds of millions from that country; besides, it has developed an extraordinary agriculture. Then we want Cuba for the purpose of national defence. The island lays right in the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico, and blocks up the Missiseippi, with all its products. It controls the outgoing and incoming of the exports and imports of most of the Western and South-Western States. We want Cuba for the purpose of extending our agricultural resources; we want more sugar, and cheaper sugar, and the way to get it is to acquire the country where it can be produced in abundance and cheaply. We want it for the extension of our commerce. Down in Mississippi, upon the banks of the Father of Waters, there lives not a man, woman or child who does not glory in the expanding commerce of New York. We want Cuba to extend the commerce of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans, as well as that of New York—to each according to its deserts. (Capt. Rynders—"Boston would get a very small share, then, I reckon." Laughter.) These are the reasons why I approve of acquiring Cuba, and persons, of whatever political faith, must be impressed by them if they will candidly weigh them. Then I have a little private reason of my own, which it would not be proper for me to keep from you. I want Cuba for the extension of slavery. I speak for myself, and not for any party (sensation). Let Greeley understand this, let Garrison understand this, let all the dirty abolition crew understand it (cheers). I speak for myself and those who agree with me. We are told, if we take the island of Cuba, we shall offend England and France. The devil we will (cheers and laughter). Suppose those governments should go on stilts, if we don't bring them down, d—n me (renewed cheering and laughter). What is it to us whether they like it or not? When England, the bloody old bruiser (applause), has gone slashing round the world insulting everybody, fighting everybody and plundering everybody—— (A voice here said something, which was not heard at the reporter's stand; other voices instantly cried "Put him out," "Put him out," "Throw him out," "Throw him out.")

Captain RYNDERS counselled peace, but the cries continued. Then there was a great rush towards somebody, while from a dozen to thirty men surged to and fro, bearing the said somebody towards the door. Rynders called out "Clear the way there, and let them out; the rest of you keep back there and let them put him out," and the like, till the party was expelled.

Mr. BROWN—I ask you, fellow-citizens, while England has gone around making the acquisition of territory everywhere, if we ever interposed to prevent her? She has extended her dominion all over the world; there is not a country, there is not a continent, there is not a clime, in which she has not dominion. When did we ever object to her obtaining it? Well, France, she at least will interpose. Has she not, like England, extended her dominion everywhere; and when did we interpose to prevent her? We do justice, and we must demand justice. I don't stand awed by the presence of these great Powers. We will say to England and France: we will give you justice, and at your hands we will demand justice, let it cost what it will (applause). Suppose the island of Cuba lay across the English channel, or the Bay of Biscay, instead of in the Gulf of Mexico, and England or France proposed to acquire it, and we should say no, it shall not be done, would not all the world say to us, "This must not be, the island is not near you, and you have no right to seek a quarrel about it." So will all the world say to England and France if they interfere with us in acquiring Cuba; their interference would plainly be frowned down by the rest of the world. If they interfere, they seek a quarrel. Will they do it? No, take my word for it, they will do no such thing. No, England and France are not more anxious to fight you, my friends, than you are to fight them (cheers). They can do you a vast sight of damage in time of war, but you can do them much more (applause). I came from a State whose whole revenue in times of peace and in war depends upon her cotton crop, which exports annually fifty thousand bags of cotton, and we are not frightened at fighting England and France. We can as well afford to look up our fifty thousand bags of cotton as England to starve her operatives. We can look them up until the war is over, but can England stop the hunger of her people? She might prevent the exportation of our produce; but when she does it, she turns out her starving millions to complain against her government. Let them go to war with America, and I dare say, before this audience, that, before the war would be over, you would see an American general hoist the stars and stripes over the Tuileries and over London (great applause)—and we would conquer them at home. This is an appeal to our cowardice. You must not do this for fear that England and France will thrash you. What has become of the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers if the country is now to be stunted in its growth through fear? Then we are told it will be an insult to Spanish pride to offer to purchase Cuba. (Rynders—A good joke.) An insult to Spanish pride even to propose the purchase! I don't think Spanish pride is quite so sensitive. According to my recollection of history, in 1665 Spain ceded Malta to the Knights of St. John, and she kept on ceding until she ceded Mexico to Mexico, having made twenty-one cessions, and every one against her pride (laughter). You might as well tell me a woman who has been debauched twenty-one times will be insulted by the twenty-second offer. No, Spanish pride will not be insulted; at most she will be a little coy at first (laughter). I tell you, now, by conquest, or through the agency of filibusters, two years will not elapse before Cuba will be in the embrace of the American Union; but it will take bold action—it will take determined action—it will take the resumption of all the responsibilities which may require bloodshed and money to get it; and if you are not prepared to give them, why, then, it is better not to embark in the enterprise. (Capt. Rynders—These are plain facts.) But I have heard it objected to by some of our friends, who are not Abolitionists, nor in the abolition interest, that Cuba is a slave territory, and that its acquisition is not desirable on that account. Now, speaking for myself, and myself alone, and those who simply agree with me, if it were to come to us as a free territory, and a free territory alone, then my courage would very much ooze out at the points of my fingers. Look at slavery as it is there—is it at all to be compared to slavery as it is in the Southern States? I would appeal to the Abolitionists, to Banks, to Seward, to Garrison, and to one who is still lower in the mill, to Horace Greeley, whether the condition of slavery in Cuba is not infinitely worse than in the Southern States? Then does it not follow that by attaching them to the same government, those slaves will experience the same treatment as our slaves now do? I could not come here as a Southern man, a Mississippian, and deny any personal sentiment I may have upon this point. I am a pro-slavery man; I believe that slavery is of divine origin (applause)—that God decreed it from the foundation of the world (renewed applause)—that the African race, from their creation, were doomed to be slaves to the white man (continued applause); and my impression is that every one of you would be better off if he had a negro to wait upon him (cheering and applause). (A voice—Three cheers for Brown. They were given with energy.) In conclusion—I see that some gentlemen are taking notes, and I dare say they mean to print them—all I ask is, that they nothing extenuate and set down nothing in malice. Report me as I have spoken. When I have spoken in favor of slavery, report me in the first person. I believe I have spoken the sentiments of my own heart and of a vast majority of the Democracy throughout the Union. The Democratic party are going into the next Presidential canvass upon this (the Cuban) and other questions, and we intend to meet Seward face to face upon it. In Congress he dodged the issue. When we proposed the $30,000,000 loan, we declared that we did not want the money; we only wanted to declare to the world that we wanted Cuba, and we wanted to bring him (Seward) and others out on this question. But we could not get him up to the point to vote—we could not get him up to the point to vote against it. And in seeking to evade the question, they defeated the Post-Office Appropriation bill, and left the government almost bankrupt. If you have your postal accommodations decreased one-half within the next fifteen days, understand that Seward and his colaborers are responsible for it. We determined to commit them, and they determined not to be committed, and, to prevent being committed, lost the Post-Office Appropriation, which will result, I believe, in a few days, in [illegible] one-half. When I saw there was no chance of passing the bill, I moved myself to lay it on the table, so as to get a test vote upon it. But the Abolitionists were fearful that if they passed the Post-Office bill, we might take up the Cuba bill and pass it at the last moment. If I am reported, I want to be reported as I have spoken—not a word taken away from what I have said and no word added (loud and long continued applause).

"THE PURIFYING AND ELEVATING INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY."

From The Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist.

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, Feb. 28.

JAMES GARDNER, Esq.—*My Dear Sir:* In studying the improvement of the people in our own time, and for one or two centuries to come, one should not overlook the fact that all the great and wise men of the revolution who achieved our national independence framed the Federal Constitution, and operated so successfully the machinery of the General Government, were born and reared under the purifying and elevating influence of negro slavery. Its social and moral power had been felt for more than one hundred years in the valley of the Hudson, deeply affecting all the antecedents of such men as Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, George Clinton, DeWitt Clinton, Chancellor Livingston, Chancellor Kent, not to name others hardly less distinguished for their learning and patriotism. Martin Van Buren, Washington Irving, William H. Seward were born in the same slaveholding part of the State of New York; and the parental blood in their veins had been improved by the same domestic influences that made Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, and other eminent Virginians so renowned for their wisdom and integrity.

* * * In the great economy of Providence, both children and servants need good domestic governments; and the every-day discharge of this duty on the part of parents and mothers gives experience, induces much observation and reflection in reference to human nature, and naturally, and almost inevitably, results in making the heads of a family who have reared and governed their own children, and reared and governed servants, wiser and more virtuous men and women than they would have been had they never performed these sacred duties. Washington had no children; but he had many servants on different farms who looked up to him for wisdom to guide and protect them, and for equal justice in the settlement of all their quarrels with one another. In thinking for the thoughtless, supplying wisdom to the simple, and justice to hundreds of dependents, his sense of justice became cultivated and strengthened for a wider field of action, as did also his knowledge of the elementary principles of all sound government. A worse error can hardly be committed than to assume that true greatness ever comes by chance. God does not govern the universe, nor any part of it, in that way. *When we see a minority in the Southern States, with no other force than such as superior wisdom and unquestioned integrity are able to command in Congress, in the Cabinet, and on the bench of the United States Courts, actually directing the affairs of a great Republic for seventy years, the fact ought to arrest public attention.* It tells of a moral and intellectual power which should be carefully traced to its primary germ in Southern society. It is not a money power; nor can all the gold and silver in the world perform the function of one negro child, properly reared at the South.

Parents learn to govern themselves by governing their children. The government of servants operates precisely in the same manner. Of course, it is not to be understood that all parents, or that all called to govern servants, profit by their advantages. Such rare exceptions, however, by no means disprove the soundness of the general principle as between parents and offspring, masters and servants. True, social science recognizes these elements as forming an essential part of the wise and ever-enduring economy of heaven.

The case appears so plain to my mind that negro servants are a great social benefit to the people who own them, that I shall not elaborate the argument. It rests on this moral principle! God blesses that humanity and wisdom which feed the hungry and clothe the naked savages of Africa.

* * * * * *

If I did not feel as well as believe that a great principle is involved in this matter, I would not discuss it. For five thousand years, half famished, naked children have been grown in Africa for no better purpose than to feed lions and tigers, in a land that was known in ancient history as "the dry nurse of lions." It is time to aid these feeble people to vindicate their manhood, and gain dominion over their enemies, which are strong and ferocious beasts of prey. We can now assist them with a certainty of greatly benefiting, not only ourselves, but all who consume either the food or raiment produced in any degree by negro labor. The fulness of time has already arrived when it is practicable to improve at once men of the type of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Clinton, Marshall and Livingston, and the most degraded savages, with great advantage to the world at large. I trace the growing demand for negro muscles, bones and brains to the good providence of God. I shall take another occasion to show that just as the labor of the peasantry of England, France and Germany has risen in value, has public attention been directed to their cultivation and improvement. Respectfully, DANIEL LEE.

SLAVERY ESTABLISHED IN NEW MEXICO.

AN ACT to provide for the Protection of Property in Slaves.

Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico:

SECTION 1. That every person who shall be convicted of the unlawful killing of a slave or other offence upon the person of a slave within this Territory, whether as principal or accessory, shall suffer the same pains and penalties as if the party upon whose person the offence was committed had been a free white person.

SEC. 2. Every person who shall steal any slave with the intent that the owner, or any one having an interest in such slave, present or future, vested or contingent, legal or equitable, shall be deprived of the use or benefit of such slave, shall, upon conviction, suffer imprisonment for a term not more than ten nor less than four years, and be fined in a sum not more than two thousand nor less than five hundred dollars. And every person who shall, by violence, seduction or other means, take and carry or entice away any slave with the like intent shall be deemed and held, for every purpose whatever, to have stolen such slave within the meaning of this act. And every person who, knowing any slave to have been stolen as aforesaid, shall aid, assist or advise in or about the carrying away of such slave shall suffer the like penalties as are above prescribed against the person stealing such slave as aforesaid.

SEC. 3. Every person who shall carry or convey or wilfully assist in carrying or conveying any slave the property of another, with the intent or for the purpose of aiding or enabling such slave to escape out of this Territory, or within this Territory, and beyond the control or recovery of his owner or master, or who shall wilfully secrete or conceal such slave from his owner or master, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer the same penalties as are prescribed in the foregoing section of this act. And in any indictment preferred against any person for the violation of any of the provisions of this act, the property in the slave shall be well laid, if charged to belong to any person having an interest in such slave, whether such interest be legal or equitable, present or future, joint or several, vested or contingent.

SEC. 4. Every person who shall forge or furnish to any negro, free or slave, any false or fabricated free papers or false evidences in print or writing of the freedom of such negro shall, upon conviction, suffer imprisonment for a term not more than five years nor less than six months, and be fined in a sum not more than one thousand nor less than one hundred dollars.

SEC. 5. Any person who shall hire, entice, persuade, or in any manner induce any slave to absent himself from the service or custody of his owner or master, or who shall, upon any pretence, harbor or maintain any slave so absenting himself from such service or custody, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer fine and imprisonment as prescribed in section 4 of this act, and shall besides be liable to the owner or master in a civil suit for damages.

SEC. 6. Any person who shall endeavor to excite in any slave a spirit of insurrection, conspiracy or rebellion, or who shall advise, countenance, aid or in any manner abet any slave in resistance against his owner or master, shall, upon conviction, suffer imprisonment not less than three months nor more than three years, and be fined in a sum not less than twenty-five nor more than one thousand dollars.

SEC. 7. Any person who shall send, lend, hire, give or in any manner furnish to any slave any sword, dirk, bowie-knife, gun, pistol or other firearms, or any other kind of deadly weapon of offence, or any ammunition of any kind suitable for firearms, shall, upon conviction, suffer the penalties prescribed in section 6 of this act. Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prohibit the owner or master of any slave from temporarily arming such slave with such weapon and ammunition, for the purpose of the lawful defence of himself, his family or property.

SEC. 8. All trade or traffic between free persons and slaves in any article of goods, merchandise, provisions, supplies, or other commodity whatever, is hereby prohibited, unless the slave shall have and exhibit the permission of his owner or master in writing to trade or traffic, which written permission must specifically set forth the articles or commodities which such slave is authorized to sell, buy or barter. And any person who shall violate the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction, suffer the penalties prescribed in section 6 of this act. And if any person other than the owner or master of such slave shall furnish to any such slave any fabricated, false or forged permit to trade as aforesaid, he shall suffer the same penalties as are prescribed in the said 6th section of this act.

SEC. 9. Any free person who shall play with any slave at any game of cards, or any other game of skill, chance, hazard or address, either with or without betting thereon, shall be held guilty of a misdemeanor and be fined in a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding three months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 10. Any person may lawfully take up or apprehend any slave who shall have run away or be absenting himself from the custody or service of his master or owner, and may lawfully use or employ such force as may be necessary to take up or apprehend such slave; and such person, upon the delivery of such slave to his master or owner, or at such place as such master or owner may designate, shall be entitled to demand or recover by suit any reward which may have been offered for the apprehension or delivery of such slave. And if no reward have been offered, then such person so apprehending such slave shall, upon the delivery of such slave to his master or owner or to the sheriff of the county in which such slave was apprehended, be entitled to demand and recover from such owner or master the sum of twenty dollars, besides ten cents for each mile of travel to and from the place where such apprehension was made.

SEC. 11. If any sheriff of any county within this Territory shall fail or refuse to receive and keep with proper care any runaway slave so offered to him for safe keeping by such person apprehending the same, or his agent, such sheriff shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not less than five hundred dollars for the use of the Territory, shall further be liable to the owner of such slave for his value, recoverable by civil suit, and shall be ineligible for reëlection to the said office.

SEC. 12. The said sheriff, upon receiving such runaway into his custody as aforesaid, shall forthwith cause to be inserted in some public newspaper of this Territory a full and particular description of such slave, stating therein the date of his commitment to jail as a runaway, which advertisement he shall cause to be continued for the space of six months, unless such slave shall sooner be delivered up to his owner or master upon proof of ownership or right of possession and payment of all costs as hereinafter provided. But if, at the expiration of six months from the date of the first insertion of such advertisement, no owner or master shall appear and reclaim his said slave, then it shall be the duty of the said sheriff to cause to be inserted in such newspaper a further advertisement setting forth, as before, a full description of such slave, with the date of his commitment as aforesaid and a recital of the former advertisement, and giving notice that, upon a particular day to be named, not less than six nor more than seven months subsequent to the first insertion of such advertisement, he will, at the door of his jail or of the court-house of his county, sell the said slave to the highest bidder for cash. And on the sale-day so appointed, the said sheriff or his successor in office shall accordingly, between the hours of 12 o'clock m. and 2 o'clock p. m., at the place of sale, offer at public vendue, and sell to the highest bidder for cash, the said slave, and shall execute to the purchaser his bill of sale for such slave, which shall vest in such purchaser a good and indefeasible title against all persons whatever. Provided, however, that if the owner or master shall, at any time before such sale, appear and reclaim the said slave as hereinafter provided, and pay all costs and expenses due to the said sheriff, the taker-up and the newspaper (for all which the sheriff is authorized to receipt), then such slave shall be delivered up to such owner or master.

SEC. 13. Before any slave in custody of the sheriff as a runaway shall be delivered up to any claimant, such claimant shall, first, prove by the affidavit of some disinterested person taken before some judge, justice of the peace, or notary public (whose official characters, if officers of another State or Territory, shall be legally authenticated), that he, the claimant, has lost such a slave as described in the advertisement aforesaid; second, the claimant shall make his own affidavit that the slave in custody is the identical slave so lost and to which he is entitled as owner or master (or as agent for the owner or master, producing authority as such agent by power of attorney, duly acknowledged and authenticated); third, give bond to the said sheriff, with security, to be approved by him, to indemnify him against the lawful claim or claims of all other persons to such slave; fourth, pay all costs and charges, as follows: the fee for apprehension as aforesaid, with mileage, the sheriff's costs of one dollar for receiving such slave into custody, one dollar for each advertisement made as aforesaid, and [ten] cents per day for each day the said slave has remained in his custody, and also the costs of the newspaper for the advertisement of such slave.

SEC. 14. If, after delivering up such slave to such claimant, any other person should appear and demand the said slave as his right and property, the said sheriff shall assign and deliver the said bond to such person, who may thereon institute suit in his own name and recover the value of said slave and all damages from the makers of such bond, but the said sheriff shall be thereby fully acquitted of all liability on account of the said slave—Provided, nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the true owner from proceeding against the person in possession of such slave for the specific recovery of such slave, or for any other redress against such person as he may be legally entitled to.

SEC. 15. In case such slave shall be sold as provided in section 12, then it shall be the duty of the said sheriff, after first deducting the costs and charges aforesaid and the further costs of five per cent. upon the proceeds of such sale as his commission thereon, to pay over the surplus of such proceeds to the Territorial Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor, and filing with such treasurer a statement of all costs and charges retained by him as aforesaid. And the said treasurer shall duly charge himself with and account for such proceeds as for other public funds.

SEC. 16. If any person shall fail to maintain or properly provide food, lodging and raiment for any slave of which he is the owner, any judge of the District Court, Probate judge or justice of the peace may and, upon sworn information made before him, shall cause such person, by his warrant, to be brought before him, and, upon investigation and proof of such facts in a summary manner, without appeal, such judge or justice may require such person to enter into bond, with sufficient surety, payable to the Territory, in such sum as he shall require, and conditioned for the support and maintenance of such slave in the future, which bond may at any time thereafter be put in suit upon the affidavit of any person that the same has become forfeited.

SEC. 17. When a slave shall be indicted for felony, the clerk of the court, upon the arrest of such slave or return of such indictment, shall issue a citation to the owner or master named in such indictment, requiring him to appear and defend his said slave; and in case such owner or master shall not so appear, it shall be the duty of the court trying the same to appoint counsel for such slave, who shall be authorized to direct the summons of all witnesses for the defence, and in all respects to conduct the same, and the court shall allow to such counsel a reasonable fee for his services and tax the same as other costs, and award execution against the said owner therefor.

SEC. 18. Any owner of a slave indicted and convicted of cruel and inhuman treatment to such slave shall be punished by imprisonment not more than one year, and fine not more than one thousand dollars.

SEC. 19. Any owner of a slave who shall suffer such slave to hire his own time, or go at large and employ himself as a free man, for more than twenty-four hours at any one time, shall, upon conviction thereof before any justice of the peace, be fined in a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, to enure to the county treasury.

SEC. 20. Any slave who shall conduct himself disorderly in a public place, or shall give insolent language, or signs, to any free white person, may be arrested and taken by such person before a justice of the peace, who, upon trial and conviction in a summary manner, shall cause his constable to give such slave any number of stripes, upon his bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine.

SEC. 21. When any slave shall be convicted of any crime or misdemeanor for which the penalty assigned by law is in whole or part the fine of a sum of money, the court passing sentence upon him may, in its discretion, substitute for such fine corporal punishment by branding or stripes.

SEC. 22. No slave, free negro or mulatto shall be permitted to give evidence in any court against a free white person, but against each other they shall be competent witnesses.

SEC. 23. Marriages between white persons and slaves or free negroes or mulattoes are prohibited, and such rites of matrimony are declared void; and any free white person attempting to enter into or procure a marriage with such slave or free negro or mulatto, upon indictment and conviction, shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding six months and fine not exceeding five hundred dollars.

SEC. 24. Any slave, free negro or mulatto who shall commit or attempt to commit a rape upon the person of any white woman shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death.

SEC. 25. The emancipation of slaves within this Territory is totally prohibited.

SEC. 26. No slave shall be permitted to go from the premises of his owner or master after sunset and before sunrise, without a written pass, specifying the particular place or places to which such slave is permitted to go; and any white person is authorized to take any slave who, upon demand, shall not exhibit such pass, before any justice of the peace, who, upon summary investigation, shall cause such slave to be whipped with not more than thirty-nine stripes upon his bare back, and to be committed to the jail or custody of a proper officer, to be released the next day, on the demand and payment of costs by the owner or master.

SEC. 27. Any person claiming to be entitled to the possession of any slave which is withheld from him may either institute his action of replevin therefor, as for other property, or, upon his sworn petition, directed to the district judge of the district wherein such slave may be, shall be entitled to the writ of habeas corpus, directed to the person having such slave in possession, upon which such proceedings shall be had as are now had upon such process when instituted for other persons; and if the judge, upon hearing such cause, shall see fit, he may require the party to whom he adjudges the possession of the slave to enter into such bond, in such amount and with such security, as he shall approve, payable to the adverse party, conditioned for the safe delivery of said slave, to abide the judgment or decree of any court of competent jurisdiction which may be rendered in any suit to be instituted within six months from the date of such bond; which bond, upon breach thereof, may be prosecuted to judgment against the makers of the same or any of them, by the payee thereof, his executors or administrators or assigns. And any court of chancery shall entertain a bill for the specific recovery of any slave without allegation or proof of peculiar value or *pretium affectionis*.

SEC. 28. Any person who shall hold as a slave any negro or mulatto who is entitled to his freedom shall, upon conviction, suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten nor less than five years, and be fined in a sum not less than five hundred nor more than two thousand dollars.

SEC. 29. When a word in this act is used in the masculine form, it shall include the feminine; where used in the singular, it shall include the plural, and *vice versa*, and the word "master" shall be taken to include any person who, whether as owner, bailee or otherwise, has or is entitled to have the immediate possession or control of the slave.

SEC. 30. That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

AN IMPORTANT DECISION.

From The Detroit Free Press.

THE reader remembers the fugitive slave case at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, three or four years ago, in which the execution of the act of Congress by the United States Marshal was interrupted by the interposition of the State Supreme Court. The State court released parties, on *habeas corpus*, in custody of the Marshal on a charge of rescuing the alleged fugitive from the Federal authorities, on the ground, deliberately taken by the Court, that the Fugitive Slave law was unconstitutional. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, by which a decision was rendered on Tuesday. It is understood that the decision was concurred in by the whole Court. The Court decided that the proceedings of the State Court were totally illegal and virtually revolutionary; that the Marshal had a right, and it was his duty, to resist by force interference by the State powers; and that the Fugitive Slave law is clearly constitutional.

There has, of course, been no room for doubt as to what the decision of the United States Supreme Court would be in this case. We are not sorry that the case has arisen, or, rather, we are glad that the Federal Supreme Court has had an opportunity to make this decision. It was time that doubt should be removed from all those minds which have professed to doubt as to the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave law, and as to the power of the Federal Courts and of Federal officers to execute the Federal laws independent of State interference. It was time, especially, that an end should be put to the conflict which abolitionism has stimulated between Federal and State authority with respect to fugitive slaves, and which, in Wisconsin, had paralyzed the Federal power. It was time that the perfect independence of the Federal judiciary, and the perfect supremacy of the Federal laws, should be proclaimed.

They have been proclaimed, and hereafter men, whether they be sheriffs or private citizens, who undertake to obstruct the execution of the Federal laws will do so at their peril. They will do so knowing that abolition State courts cannot protect them. And if State courts shall undertake to obstruct the execution of the Federal laws, they will know in advance that their conduct is revolutionary, and they may be assured that it will be treated as such. Hereafter it will be the duty of United States Marshals to resist, by force, alike private individuals and the officers of State courts who may in any way interfere to prevent the execution of process issued by Federal authority. It will be their duty to disobey writs of *habeas corpus* issued by State magistrates, if such writs are designed, or will have the effect, to release persons in their custody by virtue of process of Federal courts. And in the performance of this duty the Marshals will be sustained by the whole power of the United States.

This decision will be approved by all men of sound mind. The Federal government would be a poor affair indeed if the laws of Congress were not supreme, and if the Federal courts were not independent of interference from State tribunals. It would be powerless, as it was made powerless in Wisconsin by the conduct of the State court and the submission of the Federal authorities to State interference. It would be powerless not only with respect to the execution of the Fugitive Slave law, but with respect to the revenue laws, the post-office laws, and all other laws of Congress. What would sensible people say of the action of a State magistrate who should issue a writ of *habeas corpus* for the release of a person under arrest in the District Court of the United States for mail robbery? And yet, he might as well issue that writ in that case as in any aspect of a fugitive slave case. Necessarily the laws of Congress are the supreme law of the land, and it is not within the power of any State court to pronounce them unconstitutional; and necessarily the Federal courts are wholly independent of State courts and of State authority in every way.

Now that the Fugitive Slave law has been declared constitutional by the highest competent authority, it follows that all the laws passed by State Legislatures designed to nullify it are unconstitutional, and that all attempts to enforce them are revolutionary. Let Abolitionists put that in their pipes and smoke it; and let them exercise the extremest care that they commit no revolutionary act for which they will be called to answer in the Federal courts.

THE MICHIGAN PERSONAL LIBERTY LAW.

GROANS OF THE SHAM DEMOCRACY.

[Extracts from the Address of the sham Democratic members of the Legislature of Michigan to their constituents.]

WE invite your attention to the measures of the majority in power, brought forward for the avowed purpose of establishing equality between the whites and blacks. One of these proposed to extend unqualifiedly to the latter all the rights of the elective franchise. For this purpose the Chairman of the Select Committee of the House on Constitutional Amendments reported a joint resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution, by striking out the word "white" wherever it occurs in section 1, article 7, of the Constitution. This resolution was never put on its final passage, but a motion was made for its indefinite postponement, with an avowal that it was moved as a test question, and it was so regarded and voted on by the House. The motion prevailed by the vote of ayes 39, noes 31. Of the noes, every vote of was Republican and they were a considerable majority of all the Republican members. Every Democratic member of the House was present, and recorded his name with the ayes, and, as they numbered 25, the remaing 14 ayes were Republican votes.

The idea of establishing negro equality is no new idea amongst the extremists of the State. It has been a subject of agitation ever since its organization, and we deem it unnecessary now to discuss its merits. We shall content ourselves with assuming, as we are sure it is true, that this idea of negro equality is exceedingly offensive to, and strongly opposed by, the sentiment of a large majority of the people of the State. Who is responsible for the bringing forward of the measure proposed by said resolution? It was of Republican origin. Who supported it? Whence came the 31 votes against its indefinite postponement? It was supported solely by Republicans; these 31 votes were Republican, and they formed more than two-thirds of all the Republican votes given on the question. Who opposed the resolution? The Democracy, who, without a single exception, voted for its indefinite postponement.

The next plan brought forward for establishing negro equality was in the form of a joint resolution, introduced by a Republican member for amending the Constitution in respect to the elective franchise. This resolution proposed to extend the elective franchise, to use its own language, to "*every male inhabitant of African descent* born in the power in fee of unincumbered real estate within *this State of the value of two hundred dollars.*"

The resolution was lost on the question of its passage for want of the requisite two-thirds vote. Ayes 40, all Republicans; noes 47, which included every Democratic member.

The next Republican measure of agitation in behalf of the negro race, brought forward at the recent session of the Legislature, and to which we invite your attention, was that making it a high crime for any one to "bring a negro, mulatto or other person into the State, claiming him or her as a slave," and punishing the act with imprisonment in the State prison not more than ten years and a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars.

This measure, most unfortunately, has now become a law, and, until repealed, must remain a standing blot upon the honor and fair name of the State. It places the State in a foolish attitude of hostility to a large portion of her sister States; accomplishes practically no useful purpose; is an act of wanton unfriendliness; and is well calculated to excite unfriendliness in return, to provoke retaliatory legislation from fifteen States of the Union, and unnecessarily and foolishly weaken the bonds of fraternity by which the States are held in a great and common Union. Mark the language of the law. It is a crime to bring a slave into the State, claiming him as such. Hereafter your Southern brethren can no longer in safety travel through or sojourn temporarily in the State, for purposes of business or pleasure, in company with their old family servants, who, nearly as much as themselves, are tied to their families by the bonds and association of birth, family relations and affection. For an act so innocent to the parties, so harmless to us, so needful in many of our business relations with our Southern brethren, they are to be punished by heavy penalties and long imprisonment in the State prison.

Behold, fellow-citizens, to what a point of dishonor our State has been brought by her agitating extremists now in power. We rely upon you for a redemption of the State, at the earliest opportunity, from the stain which the law has set upon her fair name and fame. It was said by the honorable gentleman who introduced it into the House that it was intended as a measure to protect the State from the introduction of slavery into it, and prevent her from becoming a slave State. Was such language anything but the empty language of excited agitators and extremists? Or anything but the language of sheer hypocrisy? What Republican member who voted for this law believed, or who now believes, the law was needed for any such purpose, or that there was the slightest danger of Michigan becoming a slave State but for the passage of this law? Nobody has any such belief.

The bill was passed by 49 ayes—all Republicans—to 27 noes, amongst which are to be found every Democrat present, and five Republicans. It was forced through the Senate almost as unceremoniously as through the House. Many of the Republicans who voted for the law pronounced the whole proceeding shameful and disgraceful to their party.

From The Detroit Free Press.

THE PURPOSES OF THE LAW.

No one will seriously tell us that the act of the recent Legislature, making it a penal offence to claim the right of property in or exercise the right of property over any negro in this State, was enacted for the purpose of preventing Michigan from becoming a slave State. No one will seriously tell us this, notwithstanding that it was the pretence of those who brought the act forward that such was the purpose of it. No one will seriously tell us that slavery would come to Michigan if there was no prohibition of the Constitution or of the law against it. The law of climate and production has settled the question of slavery here more potently than any constitution or statute law can settle it. And if it had not, the Constitution has settled it from the beginning, the language of that instrument being, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crime, shall ever be tolerated in this State." This provision makes it impossible that the right of property should be claimed in or exercised over any negro in this State, unless such negro be a fugitive and liable to rendition under the Federal Constitution and the law of Congress, which law the Supreme Court of the United States has pronounced constitutional. It is seen, then, how false is the pretence that the late act of the Legislature was enacted for the purpose of preventing Michigan from becoming a slave State. It was worse than false; it was beyond conception absurd and ridiculous.

What, then, was the real purpose of the act? We have not seen the act and know nothing of its details. We suspect, however, that it was enacted for two purposes—to embarrass the execution of the Fugitive Slave law, and to exasperate the South. It cannot seriously embarrass the execution of the Fugitive Slave law, because the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land; but just think of men who had sworn to support the Constitution of the United States passing a law designed to conflict with that Constitution. The South may well be exasperated at the law. It is an insult and an offence to the Southern people. Every southern State would be justifiable in the enactment of a law casting indignities upon every citizen of Michigan who would cross Mason and Dixon's line. Such a law would be only just retaliation.

It will be very strange indeed if the people of Michigan do not soon rise up and depose from power the political party which has placed the State in so disgraceful an attitude before the country.

From The Washington Union.

That fanaticism is blind and reckless of consequences, and ready to sacrifice every material interest of others to gratify itself, is a truth known the world over; but it has never been better illustrated than by the leaders of the Black Republican party in the State of Michigan during the late session of the Legislature in that State. Michigan is a State richer in mineral wealth than any other in the Union, after California. Its vast mines of native copper are the wonder of the world, and its mountains of iron would supply the universe with that useful metal. To develop these mines, to make their value known, to derive that profit from them which legitimately belongs to their possessor, requires wise and judicious legislation. One would suppose that every reasonable effort would be made to induce the man of capital to visit

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1859.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard*, 138 *Nassau street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti Slavery Standard*, 138 *Nassau street, New York.*"

WITH the increase in general estimation of the importance of the great enterprise to which our lives have been devoted grows a new responsibility—that of making known, on both sides of the sea, whatever in relation to it may concern the two great nations that speak the English language.

To do this effectually requires the trained power of thought and observation, the political intuition and accomplishment, the historic faculty and knowledge which it is the standing difficulty on either side of the Atlantic to combine, and the common despair to find united. The great anti-slavery enterprise of this century demands, in addition, a universal and impartial sympathy, and a proved power to forego all things else for the opportunity of usefulness to the world.

The ability to offer such an opportunity has enabled the Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to obtain such co-operation.

With the arrival of each English steamer at New York (beginning at an early day), we shall publish a communication from HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Timely notice is given, that no reader may lose the first of a series beginning at a moment so critical in the international connections of French, Austrian, Russian, Italian, English, Spanish and American affairs.

"THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES."

IN THE STANDARD of the 12th inst. we laid before our readers the proceedings at the formation of a new Anti-Slavery Association recently organized at Worcester, Mass., with the Preamble, Declaration of Principles and Constitution adopted by them, and also a series of resolutions further elucidating their ideas and purposes. The name they have assumed is "The Church Anti-Slavery Society of the United States"; the persons who came together to form this Society assembled as a "Convention of members of Evangelical Churches"; the Preamble speaks of those who form and accept it as "we, a company of ministers and Christians"; the Declaration of Principles assumes, among other things, that the "Church and the Ministry [are] to form the conscience of the nation respecting slavery"; the Constitution represents its object to be "to unite all Christians on the basis of the Word of God against slavery, and to concentrate the energies of the Christian ministry and of Christian Churches upon the extinction of that great sin"; and the series of Resolutions subsequently adopted instructs the Executive Committee to make appeal to "the various local [clerical] Associations of the different evangelical denominations in sympathy with this movement."

There is conspicuously apparent in this language a purpose of those who hold it not only to help the slave, but to bring their help of the slave to the help of the Church; to set their anti-slavery ideas into active operation upon the Church, for its reform, and also to score to the credit of that same Church whatever anti-slavery action they may excite among its members. This is a perfectly natural proceeding on their part. Having been interested in the Church long before they cared for the slave, and obviously still viewing their Church relation as far more important and valuable than their anti-slavery relation, they have not only a natural tendency but a perfect right to build up the former by means of the latter as far as fair dealing can do it, and to make their position as anti-slavery church-members appear honorable and glorious to the Church as far as truth will allow. *Our* business with them, and our function in relation to them, are very plain. As members of an anti-slavery association of long standing, with an experience of the necessities and exigencies of the anti-slavery cause trained by many perils, both among open foes and false brethren, we are to look first to see whether they are actively and heartily and practically *anti*-slavery. Our second duty is shown by another result of our experience. Since our own association has the great advantage of being single in its object, unfettered by connection with any house over the way which claims concession and compromise, and looking with a single eye at the welfare of the slave—and since we have seen the rise and fall of several [illegible] friends, with *Church-anti-slavery*, have speedily shown their anti-slavery to be merely an instrumentality taken up for the credit or benefit of their Church—we are, by friendly criticism, to give these new beginners the benefit of our experience, to encourage their action so far as it shall appear intelligently and honestly directed, even in part, towards the deliverance of the slave, and to bestow prompt and faithful rebuke upon any dishonest sacrifice of the welfare of their second love to the fancied reputation or popularity of their first.

Our first inquiry, then, in regard to "The Church Anti-Slavery Society of the United States," must be whether it is really *anti*-slavery. And we have great pleasure in reporting that, as far as explicit, emphatic and thorough-going statements in the Preamble, Declaration of Principles and Constitution can establish this point, it *is* anti-slavery. The signers of these instruments declare their profound conviction of the "inherent sinfulness of slaveholding," and their purpose to labor for the "utter destruction" of the system of chattel slavery; they declare property in man to be "impossible," and assert that no compromise with slavery is allowable, but that "its total extinction is to be demanded at once." This is the very ground which the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its organ, THE STANDARD, have always taken; and thus far, the new Society stands on ground as anti-slavery, and as Christian, as our own.

But a Preamble and Constitution do not make a Society. These may be altogether right and just, while the action of the government which claims to administer them may be as wicked as that of the United States government, or the "Tract Management." The atrocious policy of Mr. Buchanan is carried on in the name of a Constitution which declares itself ordained to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." And the Reverend Managers of the Tract Society have practised every form of evasion and misrepresentation, not shrinking even from direct falsehood, in the attempt to shelter slavery under the "approbation of evangelical Christians." It remains to be seen, therefore, whether the members of the "Church Anti-Slavery Society" will be as good as their Constitution. Meanwhile, we must notice a few suspicious features in their documents and proceedings, which, although some of them are susceptible of a satisfactory explanation, bear such resemblance to those abortive "Church-anti-slavery" organizations above alluded to (which deserted the slave as soon as they found themselves unable to make him profitable to the Church) as necessarily to abate our confidence in the faithfulness, usefulness and permanence of the present association.

1. The "Church Anti-Slavery Society," instead of calling upon the whole community to act in opposition to slavery, seeks to enlist in this cause only the comparatively small class of ministers and church-members. Judging from their printed documents, it would seem that they are indifferent as to whether a person who belongs to neither of these classes is anti-slavery or not; and also as to whether a right state of feeling shall be formed in the nation in opposition to slavery, if it be not formed by the Church and the clergy.

On the other hand, if the founders of the new Society are faithful and thorough in that division of the work which they actually undertake, we may easily excuse this natural prejudice in favor of their own class; especially as the very best evidence of anti-slavery principle a man can give is to direct his own ordinary occupation to the help of the oppressed, and to labor diligently in their cause in his own circle of business and acquaintance. We cannot expect all men to see with our eyes, nor to recognize as best the methods which experience has shown us to be best; we cannot, therefore, deny to any one the anti-slavery name because "he followeth not with us"; but we gladly recognize, as a brother in spirit and purpose, him who, in *any* hearty and persistent manner, labors for the overthrow of slavery; and we also recognize the pulpit and the church-meeting as the very places, above all others, where the minister and the church-member ought to do anti-slavery work.

2. An expression suspiciously leaning towards error, and foreshadowing compromise, appears in the very first clause of their first series of resolutions. They say—"In view of honest differences of opinion among the anti-slavery Christians in regard to the Bible view of slavery," &c. Their use of the word "Christian," throughout all their published documents, shows that they use this term synonymously with *orthodox church-member*. Do they mean to rank as "anti-slavery Christians" that very large portion of the Church and the ministry who declare that God formerly ordained slavery? It is to be noted that the resolution containing this expression was unanimously adopted, while the declaration, in the Preamble, of the *inherent* sinfulness of slaveholding was contested in "a spirited discussion," and ultimately adopted only "by a large majority."

3. This foreshadowing of compromise is confirmed by the close of the first resolution just mentioned, in which the Executive Committee is directed "*to confer with the American Tract Society at Boston in relation to the publication of tracts*" on "the Bible view of slavery," and the proper relation of anti-slavery Christians "to slaveholding Churches, and those ecclesiastical bodies and benevolent societies that embrace or tolerate such."

Now, if the persons who unanimously adopted this resolution knew anything of the American Tract Society at Boston, they knew the following things, which were made conspicuous at its last Annual Meeting, and in the Address issued in tract form shortly thereafter by its Executive Committee.

It still continues an auxiliary of the American Tract Society at New York.

Its recently adopted course of policy in regard to slavery differs from that of the New York Society in degree only, not in kind; and amounts only to this, that the Boston auxiliary will, though its principal at New York will not, FRATERNALLY DISCUSS THOSE MORAL EVILS WHICH SLAVERY IS KNOWN TO PROMOTE!

It carefully refrains from recognizing at all that which the "Church Anti-Slavery Society" declares by a large majority—the INHERENT SINFULNESS OF SLAVEHOLDING.

It expressly declares of itself (p. 3 of the "Address")—"WE ARE NOT AN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY"!

It expressly declares in regard to its principal at New York (Ib. p. 2)—"The organic relations of this Society to the New York Society have not been materially changed." And again (p. 3)—"We invite no separation from that Society"!

It expressly endorses the New York Society as a Christian instrumentality, recommends continued coöperation with the principal, to all who do not prefer the slightly modified auxiliary, and votes to continue its circulation of more than a hundred thousand copies of the two newspapers prepared by the jesuitical "tract management" in New York, the *Messenger* and *The Child's Paper*.

The clerical members of its Executive Committee, Rev. Baron Stow, Rev. Edward N. Kirk, and Rev. Andrew L. Stone, are notoriously in perfect ecclesiastical fraternity with the most thoroughly pro-slavery ministers and Churches, recognizing them in every way as Christian ministers and Christian Churches; and the first named of these clergymen, the pastor for many years of a Church so bitterly opposed to the whole colored race that they have bound themselves by a legal instrument to sell their pews to no other than a "RESPECTABLE WHITE PERSON," has never uttered a word of protest against this iniquity. And yet Dr. George B. Cheever votes to confer with these men in regard to the publication of tracts on slavery!

Finally, the three tracts already issued by the Boston Society are of such a character as to prove a radical incompatibility between it and the "Church Anti-Slavery Society," *if the latter is honest* in its Preamble, Declaration of Principles and Constitution. For the first of these tracts carefully avoids the use of the words slave, slaveholder and slavery, the second (with a prefatory protest against this feature of it) takes for granted, throughout, the rightfulness of slavery, and its accordance with God's system and God's Word, and the third claims a warrant from the New Testament for discouraging immediate emancipation.

We repeat it. This fraternization with the Tract Society [illegible] suspicious circumstance. If the "Church Anti-Slavery Society" means to act up to its name, and its principles of no compromise with slavery and no fellowship with pro-slavery, why this overture for coöperation with a body which ostentatiously proclaims itself "*not* an Anti-Slavery Society," and the members of which call South-side Adams and Dr. Blagden Christian brethren?

These problems must be solved by the future action of the new Society. We wait for their solution, and will report it, when found, to our readers.

THE PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

THE Personal Liberty bill has not yet been brought to a vote in the Assembly. The delay, we are assured, is owing entirely to the press of business, not to a disposition to evade action. It will come up again for discussion on Friday of this week, and we hope to be able next week to record its passage in the Assembly. Its fate in the Senate is more doubtful.

Among the newspapers of the State which have spoken out in favor of the bill are the following:

The Christian Ambassador, Universalist.
Central Independent, Utica.
Northern Independent, Auburn.
Steuben Courier.
Morning Herald, Utica.
Gazette, Le Roy.

Want of room alone prevents us from copying what these journals have so well said in favor of redeeming the soil of the Empire State from the incursions of the slave-hunter.

We alluded last week to the fact that, while two of the gentlemen connected with the editorship of the Albany *Evening Journal* had signed a petition in favor of the measure, that paper had said nothing on the subject. The man of authority in the *Evening Journal* is Thurlow Weed, and we are sorry now to be compelled to say that, under his direction, it is casting its influence against the bill. It denounces the Fugitive Slave law and the Dred Scott decision as infamous, but says:

"There is an obligation in the Constitution of the United States requiring the surrender of fugitive slaves. To that obligation we yield obedience. But we yield just what is 'nominated in the bond'—no more, no less. The Federal officers are bound to arrest and return 'persons held to service and labor' in another State. But there is no law, high or low, that can or will compel us to aid them in the discharge of that duty. We offer NO RESISTANCE to the Fugitive Slave law. The slave-owner, armed with the authority of the Federal Government, can come and reclaim his property."

Mr. Weed probably thinks it a great merit in himself that *he* will not, as a citizen, aid in the arrest of a fugitive slave; but he asserts that the Federal officers are "bound" to do this infamous w and he is at the same time anxious to get his political friends and associates appointed as Federal officers, in which capacity *they* must become the bloodhounds of the kidnapper! Mr. Weed concludes his argument in these words:

"Practically, there is but little necessity for a 'Personal Liberty law' in this State. Personal liberty is not likely to be violated here. And while we have slight respect for the Fugitive Slave law, we do bow to the requirements of the Constitution. Nor would we vote for, or ask others to vote for, a law which conflicts with any requirement of the Constitution. It is better to tolerate and endure whatever is onerous and distasteful in the 'Compromises of the Constitution' than to imitate the bad example of those who are constantly threatening to disregard the Constitution and to dissolve the Union. In all the collisions and conflicts between freedom and slavery, let us act on the defensive. The North has no occasion to aggress, and cannot afford to do wrong."

"Personal liberty not likely to be violated here"! The *white* people, in other words, are in no great danger of being kidnapped, and we ought not, for the sake of preserving the liberty of a few negroes, to endanger the Constitution and the Union! For the sake of a Union with the slaveholding States, and the offices and emoluments which a few hungry politicians may derive from that Union, we should be content to see the fugitive slave dragged back into bondage and to have the soil of the Empire State a hunting-ground for the Southern kidnapper! Mr. Weed is generally supposed to represent the opinions and the public policy of Mr. Seward; but if the Senator stands on this rotten foundation, and if his influence is to be exerted against the Personal Liberty bill, then he no longer deserves to be called a champion of the Higher Law, and the people of New York should give him to understand that they are resolved to seek a worthier man on whom to bestow their Presidential suffrages.

Among the speeches in the Assembly in favor of the bill, those of Hon. Charles S. Spencer, of this city, and Hon. Arthur Holmes, of Cortland, deserve particular notice. They have, we are glad to see, been published in pamphlet form, and we hope they may have a wide circulation. We regret that we cannot at once find room for them in THE STANDARD, for they are strong in argument and of a high moral tone. Mr. Spencer speaks with the earnestness of a man who feels what he says, and who holds the claims of justice and freedom paramount to all considerations of worldly interest. We give this interesting extract:

"There are many reasons why this Legislature should pass this bill. It is time that the hundreds of fugitives passing through this State should not be compelled to tax the benevolence of our citizens to provide the means for their transportation to the soil to which attaches the protection of the British Constitution. It is time that the fugitive should be permitted with safety to remain with us, and by his labor contribute to his own comfort and add to the wealth of the State. The number of fugitives needing the protection of this law every year is greater than many suppose. I have, sir, in my hand a list of the fugitive slaves that have passed through this city of Albany, on their route to freedom, between the 3d of June last and 1st of January last. The number is one hundred and seventy-six, and hundreds of dollars have been expended in this city in clothing them, nursing them, and sending them on their way. One of them I find to have been a slave of a Senator from the great mother of Presidents, the slave-breeding State of Virginia; another belonged to a deacon in a Baptist church in Virginia, who sold forty slaves, including this fugitive, for exportation to plantations farther South, there to be overworked and abused for a short time and then die. Thirty-nine were probably delivered on the contract of purchase; the fortieth fixed his eyes on the beacon of light to freedom, the *north star*, struggling through thickets and morasses, swam rivers, bravely struggled on, and, ragged, weary and foot-sore, reached friends who helped him on his way, and is now in Canada, enjoying under a limited monarchy that freedom denied him in a republic.

"Sir: By the passage of this bill you will give the protection of law to these men and women, aye, and children, thus bravely struggling to secure the blessings of liberty guaranteed by your Federal Constitution to the *people* of this country. The feelings of the people of this State are of that nature which authorize me to assert that if, by the passage of this bill, personal liberty is not protected, a human being cannot in many portions of the State be attempted to be dragged into slavery without imminent peril of insurrection and bloodshed.

"Sir: One great purpose of this law is to exhibit the feeling of the people of North; is to, on our part, throw the gauntlet down; to legislate in as unfriendly a manner towards slavery as we legally can; to shadow forth the fact that there is a limit to the endurance of the North; and if ever the wave of popular indignation, increased in its volume and accelerated in its progress by the aggressions and the insolence of the Slave Oligarchy, shall roll over the line now existing between freedom and slavery, it will sweep away, as with the power of a resistless whirlwind, the infamous institution of slavery, which impoverishes us at home and disgraces us abroad."

Mr. Holmes demonstrates very clearly the unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave law, and contends that the State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, should legislate in such a way as to render it inoperative. He concludes his speech as follows:

"The passage of this bill is due to us as a State, as a people. It is due to our sister States—those faithful and noble sisters of the East, those young and blooming ones of the West. Some of the former, by statutory enactments, and two of the latter, in the action of their courts, have preceded us in the maintenance of their State rights. And now they are all waiting for the Empire State to vindicate usurped rights. The Federal Constitution declares its purpose to insure liberty; that of our own State reasserts it; and yet both are trampled in the dust. All action is made to bend to mercenary ends. Higher and grander principles are lost to view.

"'Is the dollar only real—God, and truth, and right, a dream?
Weighed against your lying ledgers, must our manhood kick the beam?'

"Let the bill pass. Let the State throw the shield of law over every person who treads her soil. Let the Constitution be vindicated and the principles of the Declaration reaffirmed. Let the rule of the Supreme Court be enforced, though it rests a lance against the dicta of the Dred Scott decision: 'When *rights* are infringed, when fundamental principles are overthrown, the legislative intention *must be expressed with irresistible clearness.*'

"Rebuke the Slave Power, and rear a bulwark which it cannot overcome. Meet it, in its wanton aggression, with the strong arm of law resting on the Constitution. Let New York prove no traitor in the great contest between Right and Wrong—between the dominance of free or slave labor. One must triumph on the downfall of the other. Let the word go forth that New York is free—fully, absolutely, unequivocally, emphatically free—and slavery will tremble and cower in its strongholds. Let these tidings go forth, and the sound of joy and rejoicing will echo from hill top to hill top, from valley to valley, throughout the length and breadth of the free States; and [illegible] the shrine of the Empire State. We can do no less than this without proving recreant to the high responsibilities which are resting upon us. Let us prove faithful to principle, faithful to the people, faithful to the State, faithful to the country, faithful to the Constitution, and leave the consequences, where they may well rest, with the God of nations."

The quality of the Republicanism which prevails in this city is indicated by the fact that the Central Committee of the party, at a meeting held one day this week, *laid upon the table* a series of resolutions, introduced by Mr. Fairman of the Eighteenth Ward, endorsing the Personal Liberty bill. It was not deemed prudent by these political wire-workers to say anything in favor of such an enactment!

PERSONAL LIBERTY LAW OF MICHIGAN.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
LANSING, March 18, 1859.

OLIVER JOHNSON, ESQ.—*Sir:* I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th instant, asking for a copy of the (so-called) Personal Liberty bill of this State, which, as per request, I herewith enclose.

The object of the act (as you probably understand) was to prevent slave-owners from claiming the right to hold slaves in this State for a temporary period (longer or shorter), under the Dred Scott decision; so that if any should feel disposed to avail themselves of that decision for such purpose, it would be done by violating the laws of this State. Respectfully, &c., E. A. THOMPSON,
Deputy Secretary of State.

AN ACT to amend Section twenty-five of Chapter one hundred and fifty three of the Revised Statutes of eighteen hundred and forty-six, the same being Section five thousand seven hundred and thirty-five of the Compiled Laws of eighteen hundred and fifty-seven.

SEC. 1. The people of the State of Michigan enact, That section twenty-five of said chapter one hundred and fifty-three be amended so as to read as follows:

SEC. 25. Every person who wilfully and without lawful authority shall forcibly or secretly confine or imprison any other person within this State against his will, or shall forcibly carry or send such person out of this State, or shall forcibly seize or confine, or shall inveigle or kidnap, any other person with intent either to cause such person to be secretly confined or imprisoned in this State against his will, or to be sold as a slave, or in any way held to serve against his will, and every person who shall sell or in any manner transfer, for any time, the service or labor of any negro, mulatto or other person of color, who shall have been unlawfully seized, taken, inveigled or kidnapped from this State to any other State, place or country, or who shall bring any negro, mulatto or other person of color into the State, claiming him or her as a slave, shall be punished by imprisonment in the State prison not more than ten years, or by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars.

CONCLUSION OF DR. CHEEVER'S DISCOURSES.

DR. CHEEVER closed his series of Anti-Slavery Discourses, on Sunday evening last, at the Church of the Puritans, by a graphic portrayal of the blood-guiltiness of the American Church and Ministry in lending their sanction to the sin of slavery by open defence or apology, or by refusing to utter the testimony of God's Word against it. He made the very issue which the Abolitionists presented more than a quarter of a century ago, which they have persisted in to this very day, and for which they have been denounced as fanatics, disturbers of the peace of society and infidels, viz.: That the American Churches are the chief Bulwarks of American Slavery, and that they must repent or be destroyed. The duty of the Ministry to cry out against this wickedness, and the treason against God of refusing or neglecting to do so, were illustrated and enforced with a power of argument and eloquence that could hardly be surpassed. Dr. Cheever set forth, with great clearness and emphasis, the fundamental principle of the Anti-Slavery Movement, viz.: That slavery is *inherently* sinful, and cannot be justified in any circumstances. The plea of "good intention toward the slave," as a reason for holding him for a time as a chattel, was shown to be a specious attempt to shield the system from condemnation by weaving an apology for that class of slaveholders who use a religious profession to cover up its abominations.

Of the whole body of orthodox clergymen in New York, we doubt if a single one, except the Pastor of the Free-will Baptist Church, has any earnest sympathy with Dr. Cheever in his present position. We cannot learn that any of them have given him cheer or support; certainly not one has dared to follow his example. *The Independent*, which wields a powerful influence among Congregationalists and "puts money in its purse" by pretending to be anti-slavery, has not only been silent in relation to this remarkable series of discourses, but closed its columns, in an unjust and cowardly manner, to Dr. Cheever's defence of himself and his Church in the troubles which their anti-slavery course has brought upon them. *The Evangelist*, though making strong professions of anti-slavery, has manifested no sympathy with Dr. Cheever in his efforts to turn back the tide of pro-slavery influence that is sweeping over the Church and the nation. His Congregational brethren, who were so ready to leave their parishes and come to New York at the call of the pro-slavery conspirators of the Church of the Puritans (ostensibly to decide a petty question of ecclesiastical usage, but *really* to add to his embarrassments and compel him either to recede from his position or relinquish his pulpit), are oblivious to his claims upon them for support in this struggle with the leagued hosts of oppression.

This is indeed a sad proof of the degeneracy of the Churches. But we are glad to learn that, in the face of these discouraging circumstances, an effort is to be made to gain a further and, if possible, a more effectual hearing for Dr. Cheever. It is probable that he will shortly be invited to repeat his discourses at the Cooper Institute, where we hope they may be listened to by thousands who failed to bear them in the Church of the Puritans.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON AND JOHN G. WHITTIER.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

I READ in the issue of your paper of last week a report of a lecture, from *The Newburyport Herald*, recently delivered in that town by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, on Whittier and his Poetry, in which there are some things that ought to be corrected. That you may know me, and judge of my opportunities of knowing whereof I affirm, I send you my name and reference (not for publication), and assure you that about the time, namely, 1826 and 1827, I was intimately acquainted with the Whittier family, and knew from Whittier's own lips, and otherwise, as certain, all about his early writings. It is true that Whittier's first published productions appeared for a few months, in 1826, in the Newburyport *Free Press*, and until that paper was discontinued in the fall of that year, after which his pieces appeared, for a year or more, *exclusively* in the *Essex Gazette*, in Haverhill, Mass., and that paper was the occasional medium of his communications for several years after.

What I have chiefly to complain of is the erroneous impressions which are given of the condition of himself and the family. Whittier's father was a man of good sense and intelligence—indeed, Mr. Garrison says "he was a man of very good mind"—and what would be called a respectable farmer. He had largely the prejudices of his denomination against *a college course*; and he seemed to think the simplicity of a Quaker education the best, and that little more was requisite in order to answer every useful purpose. It is not correct to say that Whittier's father was too poor to give him a respectable education, not to say a liberal one. That Quaker books should predominate in a Quaker family is not strange; but it is not true that the father could not purchase all the books which he thought necessary. Nevertheless, that Whittier, in 1826, had read more of history and of general literature than any young man of his age in town, I have no manner of doubt. As for the charcoal and shingle story, I cannot but think that friend Garrison draws upon his fancy for that.

Everybody knows, who is acquainted with Haverhill and the adjacent towns, that it is a very common thing for farmers to have shoemakers' shops on their premises, so that in wet days in summer, and through the leisure of winter, when they could not work out of doors, they might have profitable employment in the shop. One of these shops Whittier's father had; Whittier went into this shop in this way, and in no other. He never was "placed with a shoemaker," in the ordinary sense of the expression, and he worked *very much at his leisure*, when he could spare time from his books, or the farm.

It is a great mistake to represent Whittier's family as indigent. It is true they were far from affluence, but, nevertheless, a great way from a condition of destitution. Of this, any one who saw their handsome two-story dwelling-house, and the various out-buildings essential to a respectable farmer's establishment, would be convinced. Whittier's mother, in addition to her excellent qualities of mind and heart, was delicately brought up, and was a well-educated lady always; and no one could go into that happy home without being impressed with the neatness, order and air of gentility which prevailed. As for Whittier, there are very few indeed who were so tenderly cared for, from boyhood up [illegible]

I have thus, Mr. Editor, briefly attempted to correct some errors, as a tribute due to truth, without at all caring to inquire whether the poet or his family would appear to more or less advantage. Nor would I censure Mr. Garrison in any degree. He intended to give the truth, undoubtedly; but in stating some of the facts, he made mistakes, and I, being more familiar with most of them, have attempted a correction. ✱

March 17, 1859.

MR. HOWLAND IN OHIO.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

RELIGIOUS bigotry is one of the chiefest obstacles to the progress of anti-slavery truth, and one of the most formidable impediments in the path of an anti-slavery agent.

Why it is that religious organizations, however high and advanced a platform they may start upon, always degenerate into conservatism, and from being reformers become hindrances to all reform and progress, is, perhaps, not a proper subject of discussion in your columns. Yet, as such is apparently the fact, it is not surprising that some persons should cut loose from all religious moorings and oppose religion itself; and that many, opening their eyes to the fact that the American Church is the bulwark of American slavery, and the greatest hindrance to the cause of emancipation, should naturally and necessarily have become infidel to the religion of that Church, if not to all religion whatsoever.

I am almost tempted myself, at times, to accept the occasional suggestion of friends, and oppose the theology of the Church, as the surest means of clearing the path of the slave to freedom. But as, after all, I find that the Christian Religion is in all its characteristics a system of deadly hostility and antagonism to slavery in all its forms, and it is therefore only by the spurious profession thereof that the Church is on the wrong side, I am content with battling the Church in its pro-slavery positions and character, and using Christianity itself as the chiefest agency for the overthrow of the diabolic institution, and the correction of the influences of a corrupt and infidel Church.

When, some years ago, there was a large secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and earnest anti-slavery Methodists organized the Wesleyan Church as a protest against the sin of slavery, Abolitionists began to take courage and hope that there was at last and at least one Anti-Slavery Church among so many that were given over to the service of the adversary. But, alas! where are the Wesleyans to day? Where is their active testimony against the sin of slavery? They, too, are joined to their idols, and, while diligently engaged in building up a sect, seem to have forgotten the slave. In sustaining Churchianity, they appear to have lost Christianity. They have no living, vital testimony against this great sin of the land, but seem willing to live in the faith of their first protest, saying, "Have we not Abraham for our father?" and, assuming that their skirts are clear of this sin, they make no effort to convert the world lying in this wickedness, but join the great pro-slavery sects in revivals, and in the work of proselyting men into the embrace of a sectarian religion.

At Deersville, Harrison Co., O., whence I addressed you awhile since, there is a large and flourishing Society of Wesleyans. Some years since they, by vote of the Church, closed the doors of their house against all of our lecturers. Two years ago our agent, A. T. Foss, was lecturing in the vicinity, and one of the members of this Society, desiring that he should have a hearing in this place, procured the consent of the trustees of the house for a meeting; but when the time came, the opposition possessed themselves of the key by false pretence, and kept the house locked. This member, not willing to be baffled in this manner, climbed into a window and unfastened the door, and the meeting was held.

Complaint was made against him to the Church for this act, and he was brought to its bar for trial. He admitted the fact, justified it, and declared that in like circumstances he should do the same again; and for this he was solemnly and piously excommunicated from the Church.

While we were at the place, they were holding a weekly union prayer-meeting, in which joined the Old School Presbyterians, Episcopal Methodists, and Wesleyan Methodists—a glorious fraternity, surely! How Wesleyans could thus fraternize with these pro-slavery sects, and so fellowship that slavery that they claim to have repudiated, is past my comprehension, save on the supposition that they are on the same platform, in the same ship, and they will sink or swim together.

At other places we have found the same state of things, and always as much opposition from the Wesleyans, and the same closing of their holy houses against us, as with the other sects.

Where is there an anti-slavery religious sect, one that makes practical Christianity paramount to creeds, theologies and observances? Echo answers, where?

At Harrisville, Harrison Co., we met with an encouraging success worthy of record. Before our advent there, all the friends warned us that it was a hard place, and our labors there would be unheeded; and on our arrival the friends there spoke discouragingly, having almost been unwilling to notify a meeting at all. But the trial was made, and, to the surprise of all, the people turned out in numbers, filling the large school-house with interested and attentive hearers, during six meetings of from two to four hours each. At four of them B. S. Jones was with me, but, as he was called home to the editorial chair of *The Bugle*, I held the last two alone. And at the last meeting I spoke two and a half hours to the fullest house we have had at all, many, unable to get seats, standing through the discourse, and quietly and attentively drinking it all down, apparently as though it was really good to take.

No disturbance or rowdyism occurred throughout the whole series of meetings, with the exception of the ignorant and violent denial of a Methodist class-leader of the truthfulness of our statements respecting his Church; and when we proved and clinched the statements, he passionately declared that we ought to be egged out of town. A venerable Quaker, who did not come near our meetings, made the same declaration outside.

We did not count and mark our converts, as that is not our method, but we left the seed to germinate and bring forth good fruit in due season. J. A. H.

THE LATE ARNOLD BUFFUM.

THIS venerable man, known through his whole career as a philanthropist, has, at last, in a good old age, descended to the grave. He died at Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., March 13th, after a short but severe illness, in his 78th year. His manly form has gone there, but *he* is not in the tomb. He still lives and will ever live. Mortality has put on immortality. What was excellent in him survives, and will be precious as an inheritance to his children and children's children, and as a legacy to the world.

He was born in the year 1782, at Smithfield, Rhode Island. His father, William Buffum, was an Abolitionist of the Old School, the school of Benezet, Hopkins, Franklin, Jay, Brown, etc. His house, at that early day, was a refuge of fugitive slaves. He had twelve children, and could say, what few men have ever been able truly to say, the whole twelve were all anti-slavery in sentiment and practice. They had an anti-slavery birthright. One only survives of this large anti-slavery family.

Arnold Buffum married Rebecca Gould, daughter of John Gould, of Middletown, R. I. It proved a happy union, and continued over fifty years. His worthy partner survives him, and resides with affectionate children. About the year 1825, Mr. Buffum visited England, where he became acquainted with several persons distinguished for their philanthropy. Among them was ELIZABETH FRY, whom he frequently accompanied on her benevolent visits to Newgate prison. He often described this noble woman as she appeared among the prisoners, reading the Scriptures to them in her inimitable way, praying with them, speaking to them words of instruction and hope, and manifesting a deep interest in their behalf. He also formed a friendship with DAVID HOLT, called the "Father of Manchester." They were kindred spirits, and their friendship, cemented by sympathy and correspondence, continued until the death of Mr. Holt.

In Paris, where he resided for a time, he became acquainted with AMELIA OPIE, of England, who was there on a visit. They associated with a little band of "Friends" who were living there for a short period. Mr. Buffum and Mrs. Opie were appointed by this band to attend to the wants of several poor people who looked to them for help. A pleasant friendship grew up between these kindred spirits. Once a week they met at the house of LAFAYETTE, and talked of human rights with this world-renowned son of liberty, and the true-hearted friends who gathered around him at his hospitable mansion.

In England, Mr. Buffum eagerly inquired into plans for the better condition of society, and among the objects that engaged his attention was Infant Schools. On returning to his native country he brought with him the apparatus used in their schools, and tried the experiment of the first Infant School in the United States, at Fall River, Mass., where over a hundred little children were taught. The experiment was so satisfactory to the people that they added an Infant department to the Public Schools. The good results, and the evils prevented, can only be known to Him who seeth the end from the beginning.

Mr. Buffum was one of the twelve individuals who associated to commence the great work that is now agitating the whole nation. On the 30th January, 1832, they formed the New England Anti-Slavery Society in Boston. Mr. Buffum was the first President, and the first lecturer sent forth by the New England Society. He lectured also in opposition to the Colonization Society. He was a member of the Convention that assembled in Philadelphia, December 4th, 1833, to form the American Anti-Slavery Society, and, as he had opportunity, he attended Conventions for the formation of State and other Societies on behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed. After the formation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, he acted as a member of the Executive Committee several years. With his tongue and pen he advocated the cause of the slave and the free people of color with a boldness and perseverance worthy of all praise. His intimate friends knew his remarkable patience under provocation, and the sensibility of his great loving heart when friends of long standing turned coldly from him because he despised caste and was the out-spoken and fearless champion of the oppressed. This coldness, although it wounded him, could not change his sentiments or his conduct, or make him swerve a hairs'-breadth form the line of fidelity to the cause of freedom.

In June, 1843, Mr. Buffum attended the General Anti-Slavery Convention held in London, and took an active part in the proceedings.

Mr. Buffum had a manly form, a stentorian voice, a cheerful temper, a youthful gait, an appearance of robust health, a habit of looking at the bright side of things, and a step, manner and appearance that seemed to say, "I'm determined to be a young man as long as ever I can." Within a few weeks of his departure the writer of this had an interview with him in this city, when, in answer to inquiries, Mr. Buffum said, "I feel perfectly well; they take me for a man ten years younger than I am; I feel the same interest in affairs that I ever did, and have a good hope of immortality through our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." His manner, at this time, was unusually tender and affectionate, while he spoke of friends and coadjutors, some of whom had passed into the spiritual world, while others survived and were still in the harness.

Mr. Buffum's buoyancy did not arise merely from animal spirits, natural cheerfulness and constant hopefulness, for he had religious faith that sustained him and gave warmth and steadiness to his spirits. He believed and confided in the promises of God. This faith carried him through all the trials and persecutions to which he was subject, and over all the dark and stony places of his pilgrimage. He had a full belief in the brotherhood of man and in the Fatherhood of God. He believed that the Almighty, as he had promised, would break the rod of the oppressor and let the oppressed go free. This belief animated him in his long continued labors in behalf of his fellow-men and inspired him with unabated confidence in God. As he walked about his dwelling he would be heard chanting—

"The Lord is my shepherd,
No want shall I know."

The Lord was the strength of his life even in times of disappointment and blighted hopes. Mr. Buffum had a serene temper and was never embittered against his opponents, nor did he suffer himself to lose confidence in his fellow-men.

During the last fortnight of his pilgrimage, Mr. Buffum suffered much pain, but his mind was vigorous to the last. He felt that the messenger of death had called for him. Though he had lived to a good old age, he was sensible that he was an old man, almost four score, and he felt resigned to obey the divine call. The fourteenth chapter of John was read to him by one of his grandsons, and he eagerly responded to the consoling words of Him who spake as never man spake. Except some whispered words of human love, his last expressions were, "Glory to God! Glory to God! Let me go to God!" In the language of Whittier, applied to a kindred spirit,

"Such was our friend. Formed on the good old plan,
A true and brave and downright honest man!"

His children and children's children rise up and call him blessed. They will never forget his affectionateness to them and their surviving parent, his universal love to the human race, his indefatigable searchings after truth, his trust in an overruling Providence, his peaceful death, and bright hope of a blessed immortality. His surviving coadjutors in the cause of oppressed humanity will recollect his untiring zeal, his indomitable courage, his unwearied diligence. The people of color will ever bear in mind his manly and unflinching advocacy of their rights. And all who know him will never lose the impression of his straightforwardness in every good work to which he was called. T.

THE FUNERAL.

From another correspondent.

The funeral took place at Eagleswood, Perth Amboy, N. J., the residence of his sons-in-law, Mr. C. O. Read and Mr. Marcus Spring, on Wednesday, March 15th. The day was one of those rare exceptions in this blustering month,

"When the hushed winds are soft and warm,
And heaven puts on the blue of May."

The School Parlor (the attractive centre of all the joyous and all the saddening meetings of this friendly neighborhood) was decked with evergreens, the triumphs of nature over winter, and fitting emblems of the soul's victory over the coldness of the grave.

At 10 o'clock, into the midst of a company radiant with health and youth, came a little band of sincere but calm mourners, bringing with them the body of the good old man, and laying it in the centre of the room, habited as in life, the features wearing the little changed expression of benevolence, sympathy, courage and hope which had ever characterized them.

The venerable relict of a union which had lasted more than fifty years sat calmly by, in the midst of her children, themselves ready to rise and call both the parent they had lost and the one yet spared to them blessed. Several friends from a distance were present, in testimony of fervent respect.

After a prelude of appropriate music, a hymn, read by a young and soft voice, was sung by a choir of volunteers. The usual scriptural lessons were then read, which were followed by another hymn, written for the occasion by Mr. E. J. Cutler. An appropriate address was made by Rev. Dr. Bellows, who also offered a prayer. After another hymn, Mr. The

suburbs the women run to the doors of their shanties and point you out to their children as a spectacle. Mulattoes, even, are not half so numerous as the history of the island would induce one to believe. Yet they are reported to control the trade of the city.

The women of the poorer class go barefooted; are chiefly thinly clad in gaudy cotton gowns; with gay-colored handkerchiefs instead of bonnets on their heads, and have frequently another large handkerchief worn as a shawl. They are usually negligently attired. The mulatto ladies and the well-to-do blacks are dressed with good taste, but not expensively.

The poorer class of men are generally ragged and dirty in their dress, often without shoes, oftener with worn-out slippers and sandals. Great numbers wear some one dilapidated military vestment—a coat, perhaps, with one tail and a half, or torn in half a dozen places, or a soldier's hat in the very last stage of service. The mulattoes and more wealthy blacks dress better—not so expensively—but with better taste than our gentlemen at home.

The laborers on the wharf wear trowsers, shoes and hats only when working hard; displaying, in this undress, frames of wonderful breadth and muscular development. There are no quays and no wharves here; the ships are unloaded in lighters, which, also, cannot come up close to the landing. The negroes, therefore, wade in and carry in the cargo piecemeal on their shoulders. I saw one fellow, with a rather scanty wardrobe, working at this laborious employment. No hat, no shirt, no under-clothing, no shoes, no vest, no coat, no pantaloons, no necktie, no dickey—nothing but a yard or two of cotton cloth worn as a breech-clout.

The little children wear shirts and hats; very few, indeed, have any other article of dress. The youngest children frequently go naked. The most extravagant display of infantile wardrobe I have seen on any of the children of the poorer class was on yesterday, in la Rue St. Louis. The little fellow wore a shirt, hat and sixpenny whistle.

The wealthier children are dressed somewhat similar to ours at home in the summer season.

There are very great numbers of children here.

In walking along the streets—or rather between the heaps of ruins—we heard the sound of martial music and proceeded to la *Place d'Armes*. It is a large square, paved like the streets, and, like the streets, chiefly bounded by ruins. It is in this square that l'Eglise de Notre Dame, now a splendid ruin, once the pride of the Catholics of the Department of the North, is situated. Its ruins show that it must have been deserving of the admiration it elicited. Roofless, with fallen walls, without doors or windows, and beyond hope of repair, it is still, I noticed, a sacred spot to the poor Catholic women here. I saw a market woman, as I entered, on her knees, counting her beads and muttering her prayers, with her face toward the place where once stood the altar. The beads, the pater nosters and the altar were alike ruins in my eyes; but, Protestant as I am, I uncovered my head in their presence and walked quietly away. The ruins were too earnest and venerable to be mocked.

But I would defy a hungry donkey—the gravest thing I know of—to have kept from a laugh, either open or *sous cape*, at the appearance of the soldiery in the square. The antiques and horribles of the States are, as they say out West, "no circumstance" to them. Torn, ragged, dirty and grotesque, their dress, arms and general appearance were equally amusing. There was one regular regiment on review, which had a uniform of white pants, a military cap and blue coat, but their arms, hats, dress and feet-gear were equally out of order and amazingly old. There were no two men uniformly dressed. Hayti has a grand military history; the most heroic, I think, in the Western world; but, although her negroes defeated the veterans of the Rhine and the Alps—the bravest and best disciplined troops of Napoleon—if these regiments here are fair specimens of the others, they can neither dress, drill nor march well. They ought to adopt as their motto —"No: I can't play a flute, but I can make a little village a great city." Soulouque took away these men's muskets and defrauded them for years out of pay. Hence their miserable appearance on parade. He suspected their loyalty, and, under a pretence of repairing their rifles, practically disarmed them.

I said feet-gear: for boots, slippers and sandals were indifferently worn, while some of the troops were entirely barefooted. I noticed one little squad standing alone and dressed in red pants and red vests. Although their dress was old and dingy, still it was a uniform and uniformly worn, and on that account attracted my attention. I asked who they were.

"A detachment of the cavalry regiment," was the reply, "but their horses are dead!"

The stores were open in the square, girls were walking about, barefooted and slovenly, with trays on their heads covered with articles for sale; loungers were standing, smoking, laughing, chaffering in every part of the streets —nothing, nobody indicated in any way that the day was the Christian Sabbath.

"Avez-vous été au marché?" we were asked by a gentleman to whom we had brought a letter of introduction.

"Aujourd'hui?" I asked.

"Oui, monsieur; c'est le grand jour pour le marché."

We went to see it. Nowhere in our country can such a sight be seen. The market is a large square, with a cluster of old stands or booths at one corner, but otherwise unobstructed—except, of course, during market hours.

Imagine, if you can, a spacious square paved with large uneven stones and covered—every yard of it—with shoeless market women, dressed as I have previously described, sitting on their haunches and surrounded by the articles they offer for sale in very small quantities, each portion lying on the pavement in baskets or on a piece of canvas: a perfect Babel of tongues—chatter, chatter, chatter—with French gesticulations not a few: innumerable buyers or spectators, chiefly women, with here and there a ragged black soldier among them: see little heaps of cocoanuts, bananas, yams, coffee, oranges, plantains, pine-apples, mangoes, tomatoes, green peas, egg-plants, rice, green ginger, green corn, maize, and every variety of tropical fruit, as well as meats, herrings, soap, pipes, cigars, pepper in pods and peppers both, pork in half ounce up to half-pound pieces—a little, in short, of every edible, drinkable, smokeable and cookable—and, although you won't have a clear idea of the market, you will know a few of the things to be seen there.

There must have been two thousand persons in the square, and I should think at least five hundred market girls. I will try, however, to obtain the statistics.

Saturday and Sunday are the principal market days.

I had engaged to go to the English chapel here, but was out when the gentlemen called for us. I walked slowly on along the streets southward—out of the city—beyond the gate—two or three miles into the country along the foot of the mountains.

The scenery here was as unlike the vicinity of Boston as the other things that I have briefly alluded to above.

A broiling sun overhead, not a breath stirring, not a white person anywhere, not a house, nor a tree, nor a fence, nor a flower, nor a weed, nor a costume, nor a custom like any Yankee thing; but the lofty cocoa, the lovely and wide-leafed plantain, the golden-fruited orange tree—trees whose names I neither knew nor could discover—huts thatched with *taché* (so they pronounced it here, and they say it is cocoa tree bark)—a long procession of slovenly-dressed women, returning from market, riding on asses, sitting, most of them, like men, a few on foot, and barefoot at that, with their burdens on their heads (so the women here carry everything from a loaf of bread or a pail of water)—these were the familiar objects seen in my walk. . . . . .

—11 p. m. Riotous shouting heard in my room. I went out to see the cause. A few streets from my boarding-house, at a corner, is the store and residence of Col. St. Mars.

A soldier is Mars, but no saint, I vow!

"What's the racket?" we inquired.

"C'est Mardigras."

It was a rehearsal going on in the back room of the Colonel's store. He sells liquor and groceries. A small room—a table in the centre—twenty negroes, half of them dressed in women's clothing, are shouting or rather yelling vociferously and dancing the obscene *cancan* as they keep moving around it. In one corner are a gang of *discordians*, who are adding instrumental horrors to the barbaric vocal din. One has a drum with a skin drawn over the top, a foot wide at the upper end, two and a half long and half a foot across the lower end, which is left open. On this machine of musical torture the fellow is pounding with a drumstick, and with his left hand, also, beating alternately with the palm and the fingers, and thus using both hands at once. Another has a fiddle, with a raisin-box for its body, a wooden bridge lengthwise, an inch wide and with notches every quarter of an inch up and down. On this villanous instrument the operator is scraping two sticks. Another is blowing a tin trumpet. Combined with the yelling of the dancers, the noise is positively infernal.

—My host informs me that the Colonel could not stop this din if he desired. The gang of semi-savages had called on him, and to have refused them would have been an insult—

"And he is a public man, you know."

"Oh! most sweet voices!"—

Let us be only grateful for obscurity and quiet homes!

JAMES REDPATH.

P. S. Just been stung by a mosquito. Thermometer 106° in the sun at noon. This is the "dead of winter" here. Wonder what it is in the animation of summer?

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CCXLV.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent describeth the Miniature Martyrdom—Persecution revived—Scourging for Conscience-sake—He maketh a classical suggestion—His opinion as to adding to the three R's—He narrateth the Battle of the Post-Office—Also the prospects of the Personal Liberty bill—He is historic and prophetic—Of the refusal to buy the Hancock House—Of Penny-wisdom and Pound-foolishness—Of the Webster Statue—A distinction made—A compromise hinted at—A distinguished party visit the Hancock House—An account thereof promised, &c. &c. &c.

BOSTON, March 21, 1859.

We have been having a miniature Massacre of the Innocents here, last week, in the absence of other amusements. We have been reading our title clear to our descent from the old Puritans by whipping soundly a little Irish boy for refusing to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, according to our Protestant version, he having been forbidden to do so by his priest and his father. The case is before the Police Court, on complaint against the master, whom we employed to vindicate the piety of Boston, and it is not finished yet. The real parties at the bar, however, are the District School Committee who made the regulations, for a breach of which the Martyrdom was incurred. One Micah Dyer appears to stand for this sapient body, and was in fact the party on trial. The Committee having made the regulations and authorized the use of the rod in enforcing discipline, I am not sure that the schoolmaster can be blamed for what he did. But the blockheads who required Catholic children to do what they must have known would be offensive to their priests and parents deserve to have some species of chastisement by way of a set-off to the sufferings of Tommy Wall. Perhaps it would answer—as "Lars Porsena of Clusium" sent back a tutor who had betrayed his pupils into his hands with his hands tied behind him and rods in all theirs whipping him back to Rome—perhaps, I say, it would answer to have the Irish boys flog the District School Committee, or Mr. Micah Dyer as their representative, through the streets of the district, by way of expiation.

I suppose this insensate folly, by which a large proportion of the scholars were driven away from the school—for a large majority in that particular one were Irish and left the school rather than disobey their priests—is a rag of Know-Nothingism, which made the introduction of the Protestant Bible into the Public Schools one of the several horses they tried to ride at once. In the public schools of this country an absolute silence as to all religious matters is the only ground on which they can be profitably conducted. And why not? What is the need of adding to Sir William Curtis's three R's—*Readin', 'Ritin', and 'Rithmetic*—a fourth one, *Religion?* The State has nothing to do with that and no business to meddle with it in any way. The elements of secular knowledge is all that concerns the State; those of religious opinion must be left to the priest, the preacher and the *pater familias*, until the individual is old enough to encounter them on his own account. The Irish part of the population is precisely that which most needs to be brought under the influences of the Public Schools—if the system have any virtue in it—and anything that tends to draw them away goes very far to defeat the whole plan. In countries where there is no Established Religion, that has always been found the stumbling-block over which all Educational reformers have broken their shins. *Punch*, I remember, in one of his early numbers, has an illustration of this mischief. A poor little child is seized on by a Churchman, a Catholic, and a Dissenter, and they are fighting for the possession of him with a hatred truly theological in all their gestures. Now, there is no need of any such indecent contention here; for nothing should be more simple than the entire separation of religious from secular teaching in any shape. And this must be the conclusion of the whole matter anywhere in this country whenever it is stirred—as it never is but for some political or sectarian purpose.

Then we have had a very pretty *row* about our Post-Office. The Postmaster, Nahum Capen by name, has had that public convenience removed from State street, where it has stood for many years, to Summer street, a position which should commend itself to all truly patriotic hearts, inasmuch as it is a good deal farther South. But the merchants who most do congregate about State street, having found a North which is good enough for them, violently opposed this change, on the ground that it inconvenienced those who had most occasion to use the post-office. They made a great stir about it, and finally succeeded, by hook or by crook—probably by *crook*, as that is the way things are generally done at Washington—to get Congress to pass an act, just when it was in the orbit of death, forbidding the removal of the office till after the next session, provided the remonstrants should give certain securities against possible damage to Uncle Sam. But the Postmaster knew a trick worth two of that. In the first place, he had began the removal before the act was signed. Then he kept himself out of the way, and could not be found by any of the remonstrants, though they diligently sought him, so as to tell him what had been done. So that he actually got his office moved and the whole machinery at work before he had notice of what had been done at Washington. In point of fact, I suppose his course was strictly within the letter of the law. He had instructions from the President and Postmaster-General to make this removal, and it was made before he had any legal notice of the prohibitory act—for, I apprehend, a telegraphic despatch is legal notice of nothing at all. So he outwitted his enemies and left them in the lurch.

There are several funny things about this bit of history not unworthy of notice. The main ground on which the intervention of Congress had been invoked was that Mr. Capen would make $150,000 by the job. Now, of course, there is nothing that would strike such a thrill of horror through the veins of our virtuous legislators at Washington as the idea of anybody making anything out of the government. So it is not surprising that they should have made haste to record their abhorrence of such an atrocity. But it happened that the opposition was also inspired by the desire of keeping a fat job which they had enjoyed for many years, and the direct and indirect advantages flowing from the neighborhood of the post-office. And it is averred on the best authority that several of the gentlemen most active in resenting this removal were actually in negotiation with the government to have the Post-office removed to an estate in this very Summer street, almost exactly opposite where it now stands, which was only broken up by the inability of the Department to make the purchase. So it seems to reduce itself into a simple question whether it shall be your ox or mine that is turned into Uncle Samuel's pasture. Great efforts are making to get an order to move the establishment back again; but inasmuch as I have noticed a counter-petition signing in the lobby of the post-office, and as the government cares nothing for Boston, as there is small hope of the Democrats ever getting any political capital out of us, and would rather like to *snub* the respectability of the city than otherwise, I rather think it will stay where it is. Mr. Capen's operation is now called an impudent trick—if it succeeds, it will be described as a bold stroke, and he thought none the worse of for it.

The New Personal Liberty bill yet hangs by the eyelids in the Legislature. There are opposite opinions as to the probabilities of its passing the two Houses and of its receiving the signature of Governor Banks, if it shall reach him. These are matters beyond my grasp; and as you will, very likely, know all about it before you get this letter, it is hardly worth while to waste much speculation on the subject. I rather think, if all parties have a true sense of what is best for them in this life, even, they will do what is given their hands to do in this distress. National visions dazzled the weak eyes of poor Governor Gardner, and made him veto our present Personal Liberty bill, and keep Judge Loring three years on the bench against the declared will of the people. But the first was passed over his head, and the Judge's head fell into the basket at last, in spite of gubernatorial interposition. And that eminent magistrate (I mean the Governor and not the Judge) has gone into the drygoods commission business instead of into the chair of the Vice-Presidency, with a possible reversion of the White House, if he were lucky. However, it is a mere question of time. If we don't have it this year, we shall have it next, or the one after. You know we Abolitionists always have everything we ask for—simply because we never ask for anything we ought not to get, and never stop asking till we get it. So, it is safe enough, as far as we are concerned. But it would save time if the coons would have the sense of the one that knew his fate when he saw Capt. Scott and his rifle, and come down and give it up at once.

I hope you will be sorry to learn that the House refused to concur with the Senate in the purchase of the Hancock House. I am sorry to tell you of it, whether you are to hear it or not. After the Collective Wisdom had voted some $4,000,000 to help make a hole through a hill in the extreme corner of the State, it was rather penny-wisdom to refuse a poor $100,000 to save this historical monument, at the tail of such a display of pound-foolishness. However, the vote was taken at a very unfavorable time, and a reconsideration is to be had next Thursday, so there may be a recovery of this mistaken step, as I esteem it. As it is a pet measure of Gov. Banks, I suppose what influence he has will be used in its favor. To what extent it will be of effect I cannot say, since it is affirmed that this circumstance was one element of its defeat. His Excellency has sent in a Message recommending the acceptance of the Webster Statue by the State. And if this be, too, a pet measure of his, I would compound for the defeat of the last by lumping it with the first. The loss of the Hancock House would be simply a misfortune; the setting up of the Webster idol would be a disgrace. There is so little pluck left now-a-days that I fear there is not enough to give this impudent proposition the rebuke it deserves. But we shall see. There are so many reasons for refusal, on the merits of the Statue as well as on the demerits of the man, that it might easily be managed if there were any effective opposition leading in the House. But my next letter will unfold all these mysteries. And, if I think of it, I will give you a description of the Hancock House, over which I went the other day with Mr. Wendell Phillips, Mr. Byles, the occasional Correspondent of *The Tribune*, and Mr. Edmund Quincy. I meant it for this letter, but have consumed my usual share of space.

D. Y.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ON LIBERTY. By JOHN STUART MILL. London.

THIS is declared by competent critics abroad to be one of those works which, like Buckle's introduction to a History of Civilization, are events in literature, and the perusal of which constitutes an epoch in individual experience.

Of course men always relish what confirms their own judgment and upholds their own practice; and Americans engaged in abolishing slavery cannot, therefore, but approve the following extract on the indispensableness of individuality to national progress, and the importance of great, comprehensive purposes and universal principles to those who have the well-being of the world at heart.

"There is one characteristic of the present direction of public opinion, peculiarly calculated to make it intolerant of any marked demonstration of individuality. The general average of mankind are not only moderate in intellect, but also moderate in inclinations; they have no tastes or wishes strong enough to incline them to do anything unusual, and they consequently do not understand those who have, and class all such with the wild and intemperate whom they are accustomed to look down upon. Now, in addition to this fact, which is general, we have only to suppose that a strong movement has set towards the improvement of morals, and it is evident what we have to expect. In these days such a movement has set in; much has actually been effected in the way of increased regularity of conduct, and discouragement of excesses; and there is a philanthropic spirit abroad, for the exercise of which there is no more inviting field than the moral and prudential improvement of our fellow-creatures. These tendencies of the times cause the public to be more disposed than at most former periods to prescribe general rules of conduct, and endeavor to make every one conform to the approved standard. And that standard, express or tacit, is to desire nothing strongly. Its ideal of character is to be without any marked character; to maim by compression, like a Chinese lady's foot, every part of human nature which stands out prominently, and tends to make the person markedly dissimilar in outline to commonplace humanity.

"As is usually the case with ideals which exclude one-half of what is desirable, the present standard of approbation produces only an inferior imitation of the other half. Instead of great energies guided only by vigorous reason, and strong feelings strongly controlled by a conscientious will, its result is weak feelings and weak energies, which therefore can be kept in outward conformity to rule without any strength either of will or of reason. Already energetic characters on any large scale are becoming merely traditional. There is now scarcely any outlet for energy in this country except business. The energy expended in that may still be regarded as considerable. What little is left from that employment is expended on some hobby; which may be a useful, even a philanthropic hobby, but is always some one thing, and generally a thing of small dimensions. The greatness of England is now all collective; individually small, we only appear capable of anything great by our habit of combining; and with this our moral and religious philanthropists are perfectly contented. But it was men of another stamp than this that made England what it has been; and men of another stamp will be needed to prevent its decline."

The dedication of the work is as follows:

"To the beloved and deplored memory of her who was the inspirer, and in part the author, of all that is best in my writings—the friend and wife whose exalted sense of truth and right was my strongest incitement, and whose approbation was my chief reward—I dedicate this volume. Like all that I have written for many years, it belongs as much to her as to me; but the work as it stands has had, in a very sufficient degree, the inestimable advantage of her revision; some of the most important portions having been reserved for a more careful re-examination, which they are now never destined to receive. Were I but capable of interpreting to the world one-half the great thoughts and noble feelings which are buried in her grave, I should be the medium of a greater benefit to it than is very likely to arise from anything that I can write, unprompted and unassisted by her all but unrivalled wisdom."

VIE DE LA DUCHESSE D' ORLEANS. By MADAME D' HARCOURT.

Madame d' Harcourt was one of the Ladies of Honor of the Duchesse, and this biography, which is one of much interest, is making a great impression in Paris.

Books do not circulate in France among the million, hence there is no such imperative reason for their suppression as compels the tyrant to muzzle the daily press. They circulate among a class whose intellect and training forbid a sudden resort to arms; and they are, in general, written by a class who so often find their revenge in an appeal to the world's opinion—to the republic of letters—when their considerate utterances are suppressed by tyranny, that the tyrant thinks twice before meddling with them. Still, it is surprising that Louis Bonaparte allowed this book to appear.

THE WANDERER. By OWEN MEREDITH.

This is the *nom de plume* of the son of Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer; and the *Wanderer* is an excellent specimen of poetical pen-craft. "Owen Meredith" is not a poet, but he can write very like one; and, give him a great *object*, he might, perhaps, prove to be one, after many days. Even a great *subject* alone is not sufficient. Milton had been quite other than he stands before the world from age to age but for the discipline of a life-time in real living. And to every rhyming youth who lives a strenuous and real life, without turning out to be a poet after all, it will prove the greatest of all satisfactions not to have missed *living* for the sake of *rhyming*.

PERSONAL.

The latest accounts from Theodore Parker are of a highly favorable character. He is so far improved that his physician, Dr. Howe, has returned to Boston.

Asa B. Hutchinson (the *bass* of the Hutchinson quartette, lately broken by the death of Judson), his wife and son, have formed a union with the Luca Family, the well-known band of colored musicians; and the company are engaged in giving concerts in Northern Ohio. John. W. Hutchinson (*tenor* of the old quartette), aided by his wife and children, are singing with great success in Massachusetts.

The venerable Joshua R. Giddings, released from Congressional labors, has come to the East to fufil engagements as a lecturer. He spent the last Sunday in New York, and in the evening went to the Church of the Puritans, where he listened with lively satisfaction to Dr. Cheever's faithful and fearless exposition of the duties and responsibilities of the Church and the Ministry in relation to the sin of slavery. On Monday evening he spoke in Clinton Hall upon the Higher Law, dealing many sturdy and effective blows upon slavery and its supporters, and especially upon the "*infidel* Church and Ministry" of this country. On Tuesday evening he spoke at Hartford; on Thursday evening in Brooklyn, in Plymouth Church, giving an account of the Trial of John Quincy Adams in the House of Representatives of the XXVIIth Congress for presenting a Disunion petition. On Friday evening, he will speak on the same subject in Clinton Hall, New York. He will spend to-morrow (Sunday) at Eagleswood, N. J., with his old friend Theodore D. Weld. On Monday evening, at the Shiloh Church, the colored people will present him with a watch, of American manufacture, as a token of their appreciation of his services in the cause of freedom; after which he will return to Ohio. His health is now very good. He seems to be relieved entirely of the alarming symptoms which lately threatened his life

CIRCULATION OF MR. HELPER'S WORK.

THE following circular we commend to the careful attention of our readers, confident that they will gladly do what they can to promote the object to which it refers.

NEW YORK, March 9th, 1859.

DEAR SIR: If you have read and critically examined the work, you will probably agree with us, that no course of argument so successfully controverting the practice of slavery in the United States, and enforcing a precise and adequate view of its prostrating effects, material and moral, has equalled that of the volume entitled "THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH: HOW TO MEET IT," by Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina.

No other volume now before the public, as we conceive, is, in all respects, so well calculated to induce in the minds of its readers a decided and persistent repugnance to slavery, and a willingness to cooperate in the effort to restrain the shameless advances and hurtful influences of that pernicious institution.

The extensive circulation of a copious compend of the work in question, among the intelligent, liberty-loving voters of the country, irrespective of party or locality, would, we believe, be productive of most beneficial results; and to this end we trust that you will assist us in carrying out a plan we have devised, for the gratuitous distribution of One Hundred Thousand copies of such a compend—which, if contracted for and published, will contain about two hundred pages, and be bound in pamphlet form.

One hundred thousand copies of the contemplated compend, which, on about two hundred pages, would contain very nearly all the matter now embraced in the regular volume (which sells for one dollar per copy), can be had, well printed on good paper, for *sixteen cents each*—$16,000 in the aggregate. This amount we propose to raise in such sums as you and other good friends of a good cause feel disposed to subscribe.

In all cases, when convenient, contributors to the cause will please make their subscriptions in the form of drafts, or certificates of deposit, payable to the order of the HON. WM. H. ANTHON, 16 Exchange Place, New York City, our Treasurer and Disburser, who will regularly, through the columns of *The Tribune*, acknowledge receipts of the same.

Every person who subscribes Ten Dollars or more, will, if timely application be made, be entitled to as many copies of the compend for distribution as he may desire, not exceeding the number that the amount of his subscription would pay for at net cost.

Subscribers' names, with the sums severally subscribed by them, in all cases where the amount is Ten Dollars or more, will appear, alphabetically arranged, in the latter part of the compend.

Correspondence or personal interviews in relation to this enterprise may be had with any one of the undersigned, who will be pleased to receive subscriptions in aid of its speedy consummation.

An early response from you is respectfully solicited.

WM. H. ANTHON, Treasurer, 16 Exchange Place, N. Y.
SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston, Mass.
SETH PADELFORD, Providence, R. I.
WM. B. THOMAS, Philadelphia, Pa.
WM. MCCAULLEY, Wilmington, Del.
WM. GUNNISON, Baltimore, Md.
LEWIS CLEPHANE, Washington, D. C.
CASSIUS M. CLAY, Whitehall, Ky.
FRANK P. BLAIR, JR., St. Louis Mo.

The undersigned having been appointed a Committee in New York, to aid in the circulation of Mr. Helper's books, on the plan proposed above, beg leave to recommend the object to the public and ask their cooperation.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Hon. Wm. H. Anthon, No. 16 Exchange Place, New York, directly, or through either of the undersigned

COMMITTEE.

CHARLES W. ELLIOTT, DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, CHARLES A. PEABODY, R. H. MCCURDY, WM. CURTIS NOYES, EDGAR KETCHUM, ABRAM WAKEMAN, JAMES KELLY, BENJ. F. MANIERRE, JAMES A. BRIGGS.

We, the undersigned, Members of the House of Representatives of the National Congress, do cordially endorse the opinion, and approve the enterprise, set forth in the foregoing Circular:

Schuyler Colfax, Anson Burlingame, Owen Lovejoy, Amos P. Granger, Edwin B. Morgan, Galusha A. Grow, Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade, Calvin C. Chaffee, William. H. Kelsey, William A. Howard, Henry Waldron, John Sherman, George W. Palmer, Daniel W. Gooch, Henry L. Dawes, Justin S. Morrill, Israel Washburne, Jr., John A. Bingham, William Kellogg, Elihu B. Washburne, Benjamin Stanton, Edward Dodd, Valentine B. Horton, Freeman H. Morse, David Kilgore, William Stewart, Samuel R. Curtis, John M. Wood, John M. Parker, Stephen C. Foster, Charles J. Gilman, Charles B. Hoard, John Thompson, Cydnor B. Tompkins, John Covode, Cadw. C. Washburne, Samuel G. Andrews, Abraham B. Olin, Sidney Dean, Nathaniel B. Durfee, Emory B. Pottle, De Witt C. Leach, John F. Potter, Timothy Davis (Mass.), John F. Farnsworth, Chauncey L. Knapp, Reuben E. Fenton, Philemon Bliss, Mason W. Tappan, Charles Case, Timothy Davis (Iowa), James Pike, Homer E. Royce, Isaiah D. Clawson, Ambrose S. Murray, Robert B. Hall, Judson W. Sherman, William D. Brayton, James Buffington, Orsamus B. Matteson, Richard Mott, George R. Robbins, Ezekiel P. Walton, James Wilson, Samuel A. Purviance, Francis E. Spinner, Silas M. Burroughs.

MR HELPER is a native of North Carolina, who, as the result of careful observation and extensive inquiry, has reached the very obvious and just conclusion that Human Slavery is the great primary curse and peril of the South, impeding its progress in morals, intelligence, industry, and wealth. This conclusion, with the facts on which it is founded, is embodied in his book, entitled "The Impending Crisis of the South"—a work everywhere received and hailed by the advocates of Free Labor as one of the most impregnable demonstrations of the justice of their cause, and the vital importance of its triumph to our National and general well being. Were every citizen in possession of the facts embodied in this book, we feel confident that slavery would soon peacefully pass away, while a Republican triumph in 1860 would be morally certain.

It is believed that this testimony of a Southern man, born and reared under the influence of slavery, will be more generally listened to and profoundly heeded, whether in the slave or in the free States, than an equally able and conclusive work written by a Northern man. And it is very desirable, therefore, that a cheap compend of its contents, fitted for gratuitous circulation, be now made and generally diffused in those States—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois—which are to decide the next Presidential contest.

HORACE GREELEY, JOHN JAY, WM. HENRY ANTHON, THURLOW WEED, JAMES KELLEY, Ch'n of the State Central Com. WM. C. BRYANT, MARCUS SPRING, E. DELAFIELD SMITH, B. S. HEDRICK, JOHN C. UNDERWOOD, R. H. MCCURDY, JOHN A. KENNEDY, ABRAM WAKEMAN, WM. CURTIS NOYES.

DIED, on the 11th of February, at his residence, 74 Rue Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris, Rear-Admiral COURTENAY BOYLE.

It is with pain that we make this announcement, for it records the decease of a friend of the anti-slavery cause.

An Englishman of distinction, he sought, in foreign lands as well as in his own, the society of all who were distinguished as the friends of freedom; a man of rank, he felt rank to be an obligation to elevate the down-trodden and the oppressed; a man of the world, he felt it to be indispensable to the world's welfare that slavery should be abolished; and he advocated a union of the moral power of all nations for the accomplishment of the work. A communication from him in behalf of joint international efforts, of English and American influence, for the extinction of slavery, is now in our hands, and we watch the opportunity to publish it hereafter, as the union of nations for the abolition of slavery goes on.

THE LIBERATOR.—The *Norfolk County* (Mass.) *Journal*, a Republican paper, commends *The Liberator* in terms so hearty and unequivocal, and at the same time so just, that we are glad to put its opinion on record:

The Boston Liberator.—This we consider one of our most valuable exchanges. It is about the only paper in Massachusetts which occupies the true position, that of a former and leader of public opinion. In this respect our journals are behind those of New York, being, in general, like too many of our clergymen, exponents of present public opinion.

We venture to say that no other journal in the United States has done so much to form and lead public opinion within the last twenty-five years as *The Liberator*. It has done this, with only a very limited circulation, by that stern fidelity to principle which never fails to lift up to its high level a few great souls, to produce a wholesome agitation among the masses, and, in the end, to leaven the whole community.

MR. GIDDINGS, in his lecture on Monday evening, handled the pro-slavery clergy in a manner which, a few years ago, would have brought upon him the hisses of a large portion of his audience. He told the story of the Rev. Mr. Slicer, Chaplain of the House, who, when a mutinied cargo of slaves had been retaken, brought back to Washington, and bought by the great slave-dealer, Hope H. Slatter, and stood trembling in Pennsylvania Avenue, shook the hand of Slatter and reproved one of the slaves for attempting to free himself, a man to whom he himself had often given the symbolic bread and wine. Next morning, when Slicer got up and began to pray, a plain-spoken colleague of his got up, put on his hat and began to swear. And as Slicer called on God to bless the members, Tilden called on God to damn such preachers. Slicer's prayers and Tilden's curses ascended together; which were the most efficacious he never had learned, but he had rather trust to Tilden's curses than to Slicer's prayers, because the latter were not honest.

This and other similar hits were warmly applauded. The world moves.

FOLLY OF THE FRENCH EMPEROR.—*Extract from a letter from abroad.*—"The French government has just done a very foolish as well as unpopular thing: it has enlarged the boundaries of the City of Paris, so as to take in Passy and Anteuil, &c., so that the *octroi* (duty on all merchandise and provisions entering the city) begins farther off, and people who had gone to the outskirts for cheapness will be driven back; rents will rise, and want and discontent increase.

"Shallow-pated, self-seeking Americans sometimes say of Louis Napoleon, 'What a great man! He has realized the dreams of Louis the Magnificent.' Let such go to Paris to receive their pay for the compliment in court-pudding.

"Everywhere outside of Court-precincts, where free breath is felt to be good, such men may hear sensible Americans and Frenchmen remarking of this same realization of despotic dreamings—'they are wasting the child's fortune, while they are washing its face.'"

AN EXCELLENT TRACT.—The report of the Butler Slave Auction, which appeared in our columns last week, has been issued in tract form, and may be had at this office, price 3 cents. Every friend of the cause should take pains to circulate it.

ERRATUM.—In last week's list of donations, for Mrs. Trilee, of Bristol, read Mrs. Tribe.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT'S letter, intended for this week, is necessarily deferred.

Summary.

The bill for reöpening the African slave trade, under the name of apprenticeship, was lost in the Louisiana House of Representatives, by a vote of 37 to 18.

The admirers of Theodore Parker in the town of Brattleboro', Vt., have purchased and presented to the Town Library a complete set of his published works.

The Rev. A. Pryne, who had a discussion with Parson Brownlow on the slavery question, has been presented by the colored men of Philadelphia with a silver service.

The Rev. Thomas Whittemore recently heard an eminent divine preach in the morning from the text, "Ye are children of the Devil." In the afternoon the theme was improved upon by a homily upon the passage, "Children, obey your parents."

Sarah Mallory, a slave belonging to the estate of the late Capt. James Gilbert, died in Norfolk on the 22d ult., in the 128th year of her age. Her youngest child, who is the last of the family, attended her funeral. He is 87 years of age. The old woman (so says *The Day-Book*) was a disbeliever in the Scriptures until her 111th year, when she became converted, and was baptized.

The following is a copy of a letter picked up in a street at Des Moines:

"—des Moines Iowa nov. 12, 1857—my dear miss—the pleasing prospect I have of taking you out a slaying the first good snow that comes is enough to lift my sole above the sordid vanities of this world with such an intelligent young lady as you are. yours in love purity and fidelity. E. S——"

A SEVERE LAW.—The late Arkansas Legislature passed a law, which is to take effect from the 1st of January, 1860, prohibiting the employment of free colored persons on water craft navigating the rivers of that State. A violation of this law is to be considered a high misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, subjects the party having charge of such a craft to a fine from $500 to $1,000, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months.

DESPERATE FIGHT WITH RUNAWAY NEGROES.—Two fugitive slaves were captured in Indiana, some fifty miles from Louisville, last week, and brought to the jail of that city. They escaped from a South Carolina planter some months since. They made a desperate resistance before they were secured, shooting one of the pursuers, and wounding him so badly he will hardly recover. One of the negroes was shot in the shoulder, and otherwise injured by blows.

A RUMOR.—It is rumored about town that there is a fellow in this city from Georgia in pursuit of *fugitive slaves*. Let the friends of justice and humanity be on the lookout for him; and if there are any persons in *danger*, let them be on their guard. We imagine business of this sort would not prove very pleasant or very profitable here, under any circumstances. Kidnapping cannot be done here with impunity.—*Portland (Me.) Temperance Journal.*

LECTURES IN BOSTON.—It is a curious and significant fact that the only course of lectures in Boston this winter that has paid expenses is the Fraternity course, got up expressly to give Rev. Theodore Parker a chance to lecture, because he was tabooed by the regular and conservative associations. The Mercantile Library Association have lost $500. The Fraternity has, besides paying the most generous prices, given Mr. Beecher $200 for a single lecture and Mr. Parker $125 each for three.

WASHINGTON HUNG IN EFFIGY.—The following amusing extract from Frank Moore's "*Diary of the Revolution*" will be news to the community at large:

"November 8.—At Edmonton, on Wednesday, a gibbet was erected, under which a load of wood was laid, and from the gibbet hung a figure, with a mark for a face, and on its breast a label with this inscription, 'Washington, General of the Americans.' In the evening the General and the gibbet were reduced to ashes."—*Rivington's Royal Gazette, Jan.* 1778.

A BRIDE PUBLICLY WHIPPED.—*Salt Lake City, Feb.* 18, 1859.—A Gentile resident of Frogtown a short time ago went over to Provo after a young woman, who, it seems, had taken a fancy to him, and who wished to leave Provo and come and live in Frogtown with her Gentile admirer. But a mob collected around the house where she and her lover were, and he was advised that he would find it conducive to his health to leave immediately, which he did. The young woman was then taken out and publicly whipped!—*Cor. Tribune.*

MURDER OF A GEORGIA PLANTER.—*The Savannah Republican* gives the following particulars of the murder of Col. Joseph Bond, a Georgia planter.

"Some time since, an overseer on a neighboring plantation had whipped one of Col. Bond's negroes; Col. Bond, on going by the plantation (on that fatal day), saw and went over in the field and accosted the man with 'You are the rascal who whipped one of my negroes.' He replied that he had whipped one, whereupon Col. Bond commenced beating him with a stick. The man drew a pistol and shot Col. Bond in the breast and wheeled and run; as he ran off, Col. Bond shot him in the back."

FREE NEGROES PRESENTED.—It will be seen by the following presentment of the Grand Jurors of this District, at the recent term of the Court of Common Pleas, that the evil of the presence of free negroes in this State has attracted their attention, and that they have taken the only means in their power to bring the subject before the Legislature of this State. We are pleased at this act of the Grand Jury, and hope other Grand Juries will follow the example, and thus impress the matter upon our law-makers until they shall be forced to abate the nuisance.

Presentment of the Grand Jury, at Spring Term, 1859.—*We* further present the free negroes of the District as a nuisance, and recommend that the Legislature pass some law that will have the effect of relieving the community of this troublesome population.—*Cheraw (S. C.) Gazette.*

SLAVERY IN AFRICA.—A new influence is already under operation—to crystalize, and make permanent, chattel slavery in the rapidly civilizing nations of Yoruba, Nuffer, and others. We mean the introduction of cotton culture, with all the improvements by which its cultivation in America has been made so profitable.

The chiefs and rich natives of Yoruba and Adamawa are now about to learn that their slaves, of which single persons sometimes hold thousands, can be made profitable by cotton and sugar culture. Human nature being alike, we must expect the same effects to result in Africa as have already resulted in the United States. As the slave becomes more profitable, he will be grasped and held with greater tenacity.

SOULOUQUE AND HIS FUTURE RESIDENCE.—One of Soulouque's great men, General Dessalines, who left Port au Prince with the fallen Emperor, has arrived in Paris with a commission to prepare a house for the reception of his master. Some say that Soulouque is going to live at Bordeaux, but I should think he would prefer Paris, if allowed to do as he likes. It may be, however, that such a rival will not be tolerated near a throne which, acquired much in the same way, has not yet lasted as long as his did. The very word Soulouque sounds in treason, for the comic journals of Paris have

Miscellaneous Department.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

I say to thee, do thou repeat
To the first man thou mayest meet,
In lane, highway, or open street,

That he, and we, and all men move
Under a canopy of love,
As broad as the blue sky above;

That doubt and trouble, fear and pain,
And anguish, all are shadows vain;
That death itself shall not remain;

That weary deserts we may tread,
A dreary labyrinth may thread,
Through dark ways underground be led.

Yet if we will one Guide obey,
The dreariest path, the darkest way,
Shall issue out in heavenly day.

And we, on divers shores now cast,
Shall meet, our perilous voyage past,
All in our Father's house at last.

And ere thou leave him, say thou this
Yet one word more: They only miss
The winning of that final bliss

Who will not count it true that love—
Blessing, not cursing—rules above,
And that in it we live and move.

And one thing further make him know—
That to believe these things are so,
This firm faith never to forego:

Despite of all which seems at strife
With blessing, all with curses rife—
That this is blessing, this *is life*. —*Trench.*

JOHN MILTON.

John Milton was born on the 9th of December, 1608, in Bread street in the city of London. His father was a scrivener, and a man of respectably long descent—the Spread Eagle which figured as the sign of his shop being, Mr. Masson thinks, probably adopted with reference to the armorial bearings of his family. But what was of more importance, the scrivener was "a man of the utmost integrity"; and being remarkable for industry and prudence, he soon became a man of substance. Of Milton's mother, after the most diligent research, little can be known; the only personal peculiarity we hear of is that "she had very weak eyes, and used spectacles presently after she was thirty years old." Her son speaks of her as "a most excellent mother, and well known for her charities to the poor around."

Of one of our great poets, it may at least be said that circumstances were propitious to the cultivation of his mind and his devotion to letters. His father, himself an "ingenious man," early appreciated his son's great ability. The home in Broad street where Milton grew up, with one sister a good deal older, and one brother a good deal younger, than himself, appears to have been a happy one. The Puritan scrivener, grave man as he doubtless was, had a special talent for music, and some of his compositions have come down even to our own day. An organ and other instruments formed part of his household furniture, and much of his spare time was devoted to them. Likewise, he had certain poetical aspirations, though little poetical success; witness an absurd complimentary sonnet to a friendly poetaster of the day, which Mr. Masson preserves for us. We may therefore easily imagine how proud such a parent must have felt of his son John, "wondrous from his birth," and already a poet at the age of ten, when his picture was taken by a young and rising Dutch painter. A very charming picture it is, of a grave and earnest little boy with auburn hair, cut close in Roundhead fashion, to meet the taste, as it appears, of his tutor, Thomas Young, a Scotchman by birth, and a well-known Puritan divine, of whom his pupil always wrote with utmost affection and respect. Having, as Milton floridly expresses it in a Latin elegy, "under this guidance explored the recesses of the muses, quaffed Pierian cups, and sprinkled his mouth with Castalian wine," he was sent, at the age of twelve, to St. Paul's School, one of the most flourishing of the day. Here he studied only too closely, according to all accounts. We quote his own: "My father destined me, while yet a little boy, for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that, from the twelfth year of my age, I scarcely ever went from my lessons before midnight, which, indeed, was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches." Alas! and his mother's sight was weak and failing too. "The pity of it!—the pity of it," even though this "insuperable industry" rendered him, at the age of fifteen, full ripe for academical training.

Milton, like every promising boy, had a special school *chum*. During these busy years, we find that Carlo Diodati, nephew of the Genevese divine whose Italian version of the Scriptures has made the name familiar to us, appears to have been a bright-minded and warm-hearted companion; and the intimacy continued up to the time of his death, though their college careers separated the friends—Diodati being sent to Oxford, Milton, in 1625, to Cambridge. Tradition still points out his rooms at Christ's College, so, at least, says Wordsworth, who, by his own confession, for the first and last time in his life, drank too much at a wine-party given within those consecrated walls! The rooms consist of a small study and a very small bedroom; but, judging from the uncomfortable customs of that day, it is most probable that the poet had one or more "chamber-fellows" in those close quarters. College-life, though already considerably relaxed as to discipline, was a good deal more strict then than now, and to rigid rules severe penalties were attached. In Milton's case, some dispute with a harsh tutor appears to have taken place; but it did not materially influence his position at college. When, in after years, his republican politics had rendered his name odious to the university, this dispute or quarrel, or whatever it was, became exaggerated into a sentence of rustication. Mr. Masson goes minutely into the often repeated story that Milton was one of the last who received personal castigation at his college. The result of the inquiry, however, leaves the matter very obscure—so obscure that we are justified in following the tendency we must all feel, simply to dismiss the disagreeable subject from our mind.

There is good reason to assume that, during part of the long vacation at least, Milton resided in London with his parents, and it is not uninteresting to hear of the manner in which he probably travelled there. In his day, Cambridge boasted a noted carrier and job-master, Thomas Hobson by name, to whom Milton took a great fancy, and on the occasion of whose death he wrote two long epitaphs in the quaint style then in vogue. Old Hobson was indeed a fine old worthy, making the journey from Cambridge to London and back again weekly, though he was eighty years old, and being the first man in England to devise the convenient system of keeping and hiring out hack-horses. Of these he kept forty always ready for the road; and whenever a customer came, the rule was that he should take the one that chanced to stand nearest the stable door. Hence the proverb we have perhaps all of us used, without knowing very exactly its origin—"Hobson's choice; this or nothing."

In 1632, Milton took his M.A. degree, and closed a seven years' career at the university. During it, he is reputed to have been a very hard student, still "sitting up till midnight at his book," and bearing away an extraordinary reputation. He was a noble Latinist, evidently acquainted too with Greek and Hebrew, well versed in logic and philosophy, and master of an immense amount of general information. Nevertheless, he does not seem to have looked back with much enthusiastic fondness to his Alma Mater, or to have been at any time blind to defects in her system. Mr. Masson has industriously collected several of his academic exercises, as throwing much light on his youthful character; but we prefer to dwell the outward appearance the young poet wore. "In stature," he himself tells us, he was not tall, though still nearer to middle height than to little; "though why should that be called little which is great enough for virtue." With "light-brown hair," "complexion exceeding fair, face oval, his eye a dark gray," no wonder that, to use his own words, "so far as he knew, he had never been thought ugly by any one who had seen him." It was probably his brilliancy of coloring, and the long light locks that fell to his ruff on each side of his face, that won for him the epithet of "the lady of Christ's." Perhaps, too, it may have been partly owing to his purity of character and conduct. At all events, there was nothing effeminate about him; on the contrary, we are told that his gait was erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. "The prevailing tone of his mind consisted in a deep and habitual seriousness." For "festivities and jests," he "acknowledges his faculty be very slight." Withal, he by no means lacked that noble self-confidence which insures success, "was esteemed" by his contemporaries "not to be ignorant of his own parts." Resolved to be a poet, his firm opinion was that "he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem." Resolved to be a poet, we say, for although, when first sent to Cambridge, it had been with the intention that he should enter the church, that intention was changed before he took his Master's degree. He had far too much sympathy with the Puritans—at this time, grievously harassed by Laud—to carry it out; and though there is evidence that he once thought of the law, his love of letters was too absorbing to allow him to enter that profession either. Eloquence and poetry became his profession. We cannot, however, wonder that his father was at first a little dissatisfied with such a resolve, though he appears soon to have yielded to his son's arguments in its favor. By this time, the old man had retired from business, and was living upon the fortune he had realized, in the village of Horton, in Buckinghamshire. Here, his son tells us, "I, with every advantage of leisure, spent a complete holiday in turning over the Greek and Latin writers; not without sometimes exchanging the country for the town, either for the purpose of buying books, or for that of learning something new in mathematics or in music, in which sciences I then delighted." This love of music it was which led to Milton's intimacy with Henry Lawes, already well-known as a composer, much employed as teacher of music to the noble and the wealthy, and having a special appointment of this kind in the family of the Earl of Bridgewater. Of him more anon.

The house at Horton in which Milton lived has disappeared; tradition tells us that it was taken down about sixty years ago, but still points to its site. The old church and its yew-trees are still much what they were when the youthful poet sat there with his father and mother; and the visitor, standing in the chancel, may still read on a plain blue stone laid flat on its floor the simple record that tells of that mother's death. She died in the April of 1637—not from the plague, which was then ravaging the village, but possibly owing to the singularly trying season which preceded its outbreak.

It was during the first two years and a half of Milton's quiet country-life at Horton that he wrote his second sonnet, that to the *Nightingale*, his *Allegro* and *Penseroso*, his *Arcades*, and his *Comus*. It is in connection with the last two poems that we have to return to Mr. Henry Lawes.

In the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and throughout that of her successor, masques were the prevailing form private theatricals took. The best talents of the day ran into that channel. Ben Jonson, Shirley, Carew, would furnish the poetry; Inigo Jones undertake the management of the machinery and decorations; Mr. Henry Lawes compose the airs, songs, and superintend the musicians. The spring of 1634 was distinguished by two specially famous masques—one of them given by the four Inns of Court, at an expense of £21,000. Now, Milton's younger brother being then a student of the Inner Temple, as well as his friend Lawes musical manager, it is very probable that the poet was a spectator on this gorgeous occasion. At all events, in this very year, he himself came forward as the author of two masques, for which Lawes wrote the accompaniment, and which were performed under his management by the younger members of the Bridgewater family. Of these, the first, *Arcades*, is but a slight affair; with the second, one of Milton's most exquisite and popular poems, we have long been familiar under the title of *Comus;* but in the two first editions of Milton's works it is simply called "*A Mask presented at Ludlow Castle.*" Originally, too, it was anonymous; and though rumors of its great excellence, travelling far and wide, awoke curiosity as to the name of the author, this appears to have been unknown, except to Lawes, and, perhaps, to his noble pupils. How great must have been Milton's confidence in his own powers of accomplishing in the future greater things still, when he could thus afford to leave such a work unclaimed! "What music must have filled the soul that had so much to spare." Nearly three years had passed since the performance of the masque, and still it was unpublished, and might have remained so longer, but that Henry Lawes found so generally admired a production troublesome to possess. He was so constantly applied to for copies of the manuscript, or of certain songs in it, that at length, to save himself from the labor of transcribing these, he resolved to have the whole printed. To this Milton consented, and revised the original copy. The masque was accordingly published in Lawes's name, in a small quarto form, and dedicated to young Lord Brackley, one of the actors at its first representation.

Whether Milton wrote his next poem, *Lycidas*, at Horton or in London, remains uncertain. However, the time and the circumstances of its composition are both well ascertained, and interesting in themselves. Edward King, of Christ's College, Cambridge, a worthy friend of Milton's, "strict and pious, gentle and amiable," had perished, with nearly the whole of the ship's crew, one fine summer evening, on his way from Chester to Dublin, a few days after Ben Jonson's death. The vessel had struck on a rock, and foundered near to shore, young King calmly kneeling on the deck in prayer, and so going down. Some thirty or forty of the wits and scholars of England at large clubbed together to produce a volume of elegies in Greek, Latin, and English, to the memory of Ben. The wits and scholars of Cambridge determined upon offering a similar tribute to the memory of Edward King, and Milton was invited to contribute. The collection of poems thus made consisted of twenty-three pieces in Latin and Greek, and thirteen in English. Milton's monody closes the volume, and contrasts startlingly with the execrable trash that precedes it. Mr. Masson gives us specimens from each of twelve fellow-contributors. We select the opening lines of the last two of their attempts:

Weep forth your tears, then; pour out all your tide.
All waters are pernicious since King died.

And again:

Then quit thine own, thou western moor,
And haste thee to the northern shore;
I' the Irish Sea one jewel lies,
Which thy whole cabinets outvies.

But we do not need the jar of such doggerel to enhance the charm of the familiar music that succeeds:

Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more,
Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never sere,
I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude;
And, with forced fingers rude,
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.

In the spring of 1638, Milton was preparing to leave Horton on a journey on the continent. He had long wished this, but had found some slight difficulty in obtaining his father's consent. However, the good old man gave in, as he had done before with regard to Milton's literary career; and it is pleasant to know that he was not left alone during this beloved son's absence. Christopher Milton, the young law-student, had just married, and, with his bride, taken up his quarters in his father's house. We may therefore assume that old Milton's means must have been very comfortable, thus to allow him to incur additional expense at home, and, at the same time, to gratify his eldest son's wish of seeing Italy. John Milton, taking a man-servant with him, cannot, as Mr. Masson calculates, have required less than £200 a year of the money of that day. Well for him—well, too, for England—that his father was both affluent and liberal, and that he could thus afford to lead a life of study and self-culture without any necessity of forcing his genius, and writing for money. It does not appear that he ever earned a penny by his works till he was about thirty-two years of age.

Well provided with letters of introduction, our poet crossed the Channel in April, 1638. In Paris he became acquainted with Grotius, who "took his visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth"; but his stay there was short; his heart was set upon Italy—Italy, with her great men, her music, her arts, and her sky. Thither he hurried on, and there for the present we leave him, where the close of Mr. Masson's first volume (the only one out as yet) leaves him, under, perhaps, life's pleasantest circumstances—young, honored, and honorable—a poet and a tourist in the sweet south! What ecstacy for him in the

To-morrow to fresh fields and pastures new!

—*Chambers's Journal.*

A NEW LITERARY CELEBRITY.

The name of Professor Masson is now circulating in every literary journal in England, as the author of a Life of Milton, which is pronounced by critics one of the greatest works of the age. He is little known, however, in this country, and to the numerous inquiries, "Who is this Professor Masson?" we reply by the following interesting sketch:

David Masson, author and professor of literature at University College, London, was born in 1823 in Aberdeen, educated at Marischal College in that city, and subsequently at the University of Edinburgh. He is one of the great workers in the world, who work anonymously in the profession of journalism, where so many labor almost unknown to those whom they delight and instruct, and so few can build up a fame commensurate with their powers. There are many thus toiling, of whom the world seldom hears by name, who possess brilliant and solid intellectual capacities, such as would win a wide renown could they conserve and concentrate them on some public work. In the first rank of these unpublished writers and teachers is David Masson, of whom Thomas Carlyle has written so gracefully and truly:

"Nobody can know him without feeling that he is a man of truly superior qualities, calculated at once to secure success in his undertakings and the love of his fellow-creatures by the way. A man of many attainments in scholarship and literature, and with a natural fund of intelligence, delicate, strong and deep, such as belongs to very few, even among scholars and men of letters. A man of beautiful and manly character withal; ardent, vivid, veracious, and yet altogether quiet, discreet and harmonious; likely to be distinguished, I should expect, at once by love of peace and by felicity and steadiness in doing work. For he is full of what one might call central fire, which is singularly well covered in and tempered into genial warmth, of many useful and beautiful kinds."

David Masson commenced his literary career at the age of nineteen, as editor of a Scotch provincial newspaper. He came to London in 1844, with more general literary intentions. He remained there about a year, contributing to *Fraser's Magazine*, and other periodicals. He established himself in Edinburgh for two or three years, as a writer for Edinburgh and London journals and reviews, and having special engagements with the Messrs. Chambers. He returned to London in 1847, where he has chiefly resided since. In 1852 he was appointed to the chair of English Language and Literature, then vacant by the resignation of Professor Clough.

A mere enumeration of the articles contributed by him to the *North British Review* and the *British Quarterly Review* alone would prove how deeply indebted to his pen is this branch of our periodical literature. It will suffice to mention his papers on "Milton," Carlyle's "Latter-Day Pamphlets," "Dickens and Thackeray," "Rabelais, his Life and Genius," "Literature and the Labor Question," "Pre-Raphaelism in Art and Literature," "Theories of Poetry," "Shakspeare and Goethe," "Hugh Miller, of Cromarty," and "De Quincy and Prose Writing," to show that, as a reviewer, he brings to his work a combination of the rarest faculties, a vitalizing spirit of research, a masterly grasp of understanding, imagination, both poetic and philosophic, and original vigor of thought, and a clear, compact, terse, yet delicate power of expression. He has a strong Scotch nature ripened by sunny English influences.

POPE AT TWICKENHAM.

Beyond a hundred years and more,
A garden lattice like a door
Stands open in the sun.
Admitting fitful winds that set
Astir the fragrant mignionette
In waves of speckled dun:

Sweet waves, above whose ordorous flow
Red roses bud, red roses blow,
In beds that gem the lawn—
Enamelled rings and stars of flowers,
By summer beams and vernal showers,
From earth, nutritious drawn.

Within the broad bay-window, there—
Lo! huddled in his easy chair,
One hand upon his knee,
A hand so thin, so wan, so frail,
It tells of pains and griefs a tale—
A small bent form I see.

The day is fair, the hour is noon,
From neighboring thicket thrills the boon
The nuthatch yields in song:
All drenched with recent rains, the leaves
Are dripping—drip the sheltering eaves,
The dropping notes among.

And twinkling diamonds in the grass
Show where the flitting zephyrs pass,
That shake the green blades dry:
And golden radiance fills the air,
And gilds the floating gossamer,
That glints and trembles by.

Yet, blind to each familiar grace,
Strange anguish on his pallid face,
And eyes of dreamful hue,
That lonely man sits brooding there,
Still huddled in his easy-chair,
With memories life will rue.

Where bay might crown that honored head,
A homely crumpled nightcap spread,
Half veils the careworn brows;
In morning-gown of rare brocade
His puny shrunken shape arrayed,
His sorrowing soul avows—

Avows in every drooping line,
Dejection words not thus define
So eloquent of woe;
Yet never to those mournful eyes
The heart's full brimming fountains rise
Sweet tears to overflow.

No token here of studied grief,
But plainest signs that win belief,
A simple scene and true.
Beside the mourner's chair displayed,
The matin meal's slight comforts laid,
The timely board bestrew.

'Mid silvery sheen of burnished plate,
The chilled and tarnished chocolate
On snow-white damask stands;
Untouched the trivial lures remain
In dainty pink-tinged porcelain,
Still ranged by usual hands.

A drowsy bee above the cream
Hums loitering in the sunny gleam
That tips each rim with gold.
A chequered maze of light and gloom
Floats in the quaintly littered room
With varying charms untold.

Why sits that silent watcher there,
Still brooding with that face of care—
That gaze of tearless pain?
What bonds of woe his spirit bind—
What treasure lost can leave behind
Such stings within his brain?

He dreams of one who lies above,
He never more in life can love—
That mother newly dead:
He waits the artist-friend whose skill
Shall catch the angel-beauty still
Upon her features spread!

A reverent sorrow fills the air,
And makes the throne of grief the chair
Where filial genius mourns:
Death proving still, at direst need,
Life's sceptre-wand—a broken reed,
Love's wreath—a crown of thorns!

—*New Monthly Magazine.*

MOHAMMEDAN ART.

A series of six lectures are now in the course of delivery at the South Kensington Museum on the fine arts and art collections. On Monday last Dr. G. Kinkel lectured on Mohammedan art. He took a comprehensive view of the origin and progress of Islamism, and showed how the characteristics of the Mohammedan style of art were dependent upon the condition of the people and their religious faith. The Arabs, he observed, when they overran Europe and the East in the propagation of Islamism, had no art or architecture of their own, as it had been their habit to dwell principally in tents. When, however, they took possession of more civilized countries, they adopted in a great measure the styles of art that they found established; hence it is that the Mohammedan art of the West differs so essentially from that of the East. The Mohammedan religion also required an alteration from their nomadic customs, for it required that its followers should assemble in buildings to hear the Koran. It was also necessary that elevated buildings should be erected, from whence the people might be called to prayers, as the use of bells was prohibited; and that gave rise to those elegant light structures, the minarets, which are attached to all mosques. The mosque at Mecca, which formed the model of others, is of itself an extremely simple building, consisting only of a rectangular space walled in, with columns round it, covered with arches. But, in following this original design, it was greatly added to and elaborated, the single row of arcades having assumed the appearance of a forest of columns in the mosque at Cordova. Simplicity was, indeed, soon discarded, and the opposite characteristic of elaborate ornamentation became predominant. Dr. Kinkel attributed this love of ornamentation to the misdirection of the taste and fancy caused by the strict observance of the decress of the Koran against idolatry, so that the Moors objected to sculpture and even to paintings of figures of any kind. Their imaginations, however, were not satisfied with a simple style of architecture; and under the influence of Mohammedan efforts to elaborate art, the arch was broken up into complex forms, and the arches were interlaced so as to change the circular into the pointed form; several specimens of Moorish architecture in Cairo, in Sicily and in Spain proving, as Dr. Kinkel observed, that the Moors were the first who introduced the pointed arch. Not being able to decorate their buildings with statues, they spent all their artistic efforts in ornamentation, of which the Alhambra forms a beautiful example. Several copies of the patterns from the Alhambra Palace were exhibited as specimens of the beauty of the designs, and of the great skill in coloring the Moors had attained. Mohammedan art in the East had assumed a still more fanciful and decorative form, having been engrafted on the Byzantine and other eastern styles. The cupola and the dome, which are so prevalent in the mosques in the East, were viewed by Dr. Kinkel as symbols of the more despotic governments of those countries. The cupola, he remarked, requires that every other part of the building should be subservient to it, and contribute to its support; so every part of the body politic of a despotic sovereignty is looked upon as only valuable inasmuch as it contributes to support and add dignity to the supreme head of the State. Several illustrations were given of the manner in which Mohammedan taste had altered the character of the domes and cupolas of the East by giving them a more ornamental character. Reverting to the Alhambra, Dr. Kinkel caused much amusement by exhibiting a drawing of one of the lions in the Court of Lions as an example of the utter failure of the Moors when they attempted sculpture. This deplorable want of skill in representing living objects, he said, should be taken as a warning not to allow sculpture to give place to brilliant coloring; for when the study of living objects is neglected, art becomes dead and falls into mere ornamentation. The large lecture theatre of the Museum was well filled, and Dr. Kinkel was loudly applauded when he concluded. —*London Inquirer.*

THE NEW MAN-MONKEY.

At the London Royal Institution, recently, Professor Owen delivered a lecture to a crowded audience on the Gorilla, the recently discovered animal of Central Africa, which bears the nearest resemblance to man of any one of the monkey tribe that has hitherto been discovered, not excepting the chimpanzee. The first traces of this creature were made known in England in 1847, and from the bones and sketches of it which Professor Owen received from the missionaries, he inferred that the Gorilla was one of the most highly developed species of the monkey group. In August last a specimen of the gorilla, preserved in spirits, was received at the British Museum, and a well-executed drawing of it, by Mr. Wolf, was exhibited. Professor Owen first pointed out the anatomical characteristics of the gorilla, which distinguish it from other species of monkeys, and he afterwards mentioned such particulars of its habits as he has collected from those who have visited that part of Africa where it is found.

The points in which it approaches nearer to man than any other quadrumanous are the shorter arm—particularly the shortness of the humerus compared with the fore-arm—a longer development of the great toe, a projecting nose bone, and the arrangement of the bones of the feet to enable the creature to stand more erect. The drawing of the gorilla, from the specimen in the British Museum, though only two-thirds grown, represented a most formidable animal, and compared with the skeleton of the full-grown specimen, the skeleton of man seemed very slim and delicate. Not only are the bones and muscles calculated to give great strength, but the large capacity of the chest indicated the powerful energy with which they were stimulated.

The part of Africa where the gorilla is found lies from the equator to 20 degrees south, on the western portion, in a hilly country abounding in palm trees and luxuriant vegetation. Its food consists of fruit and vegetables, and its habitation is the woods, where it constructs nests of the intertwined boughs, perched at heights varying from 12 feet to 50. It avoids the presence of the negroes, and is but seldom seen, but it is known to them as "the stupid old man." The want of intelligence that has induced the negroes to give it that name is shown by its carrying away fruits and sugar canes singly, instead of tying them together and carrying several off at the same time. It is in thus returning to take away its provender into the woods by peacemeal that the negroes take the opportunity of waiting for and shooting it. The gorilla is a formidable enemy to encounter, and in case the gun miss its mark, or only maim the animal, the negro is quickly overtaken and killed, or dreadfully mangled by the canine teeth of the creature. Sometimes, when a negro is passing unawares under a tree, in which a gorilla is seated, it will reach down its arm and snatch the man up by the throat and hold him till he is strangled. The elephant is an object of its attack, as they both live on the same food, and, holding on to a high branch with its hind feet, it will stoop down and strike the elephant with a club. The gorilla exhibits a strong attachment to its young, as an instance of which it was mentioned that a female and her two young ones having been seen in a tree, she snatched up one and ran with it into the woods, and then returned to fetch the other. Her retreat had in the meantime been cut off, and when the gun was levelled at her, as she held her young one to her breast, she waved her arm as if to beseech for mercy. But it was in vain; for a bullet was sent through her heart, and the young one was wounded and captured. The gorilla is sometimes seen walking erect, with its arms behind its neck, its usual mode of progression, however, is on all-fours. Professor Owen mentioned several other points in the habits of the animal, as well as in its osteology, to show its nearer approach to man than other animals of the tribe; and he concluded by alluding to the fossil remains of quadrumanes, to show that the gorilla, like man, had not existed till the earth had attained its present condition.

THE FIELD OF TOWTON MOOR.

From Blackwood's Magazine.

Some eighteen miles southwest of the city of York, a few scattered cottages form a hamlet called Towton. The country in the neighborhood is characterized by a succession of gently undulating eminences.

The ridge of hill next to Towton was occupied by the Lancastrians, March 29, 1461. The opposite and more southern ridge was occupied by the Yorkists, commanded by Edward IV. in person. The space between the summits of the two lines of hill is not so great as that of the field of Waterloo; but as the traveller surveys the ground, he is led, almost involuntarily, to compare the position of the Yorkists with that of Napoleon at La Belle Alliance, and the position of the Lancastrians with that of the Duke of Wellington on the heights of Mont St. Jean. A higher road runs through the centre of either battle-field.

On the morning of Palm-Sunday, 1461—for both battles were fought on a Sunday—a thick, heavy, cold snow-storm, springing up from the south, drove, sharp, cutting, and blinding, right into the faces of the Lancastrians. (It rained nearly all day during the battle of Waterloo.) The Lancastrians could take no aim against an adversary whom they could not see; but their own ranks, meanwhile, were being fast thinned by the bolt and the arrow. They therefore rushed to charge the Yorkists on their own ground; and so, hand-to-hand along the whole line of either army, the bloody battle of Towton was fought, during the whole of that Sabbath day. Some thirty-seven thousand of the bravest and noblest of the children of England fell on that disastrous field. No quarter had been given at the battle lately fought at Wakefield, where the ruffian Clifford murdered the innocent Rutland, and the princely Duke of York was killed; and now Edward, on the field of Towton, commanded that no quarter should be given. This savage order was executed with frightful exactness and ferocity. Lord Dacre, and some others who fell, lie in the neighboring churchyard of Saxton, the parish in which the hamlet of Towton is situated; but the main mass of the slain were buried in heaps on the field.

When, or by what hand planted, or how they came, is not known, but in the field where the bones of the brave thus repose, white and red roses grow in great abundance. They are the small wild Scotch rose. The owner of the field has repeatedly tried to get rid of them by burning and mowing, but in vain; they still spring up again. According to popular belief, these roses will not bear transplanting, but refuse to grow on any soil except that consecrated by the remains of those valiant men, who there fell the victims of a senseless national quarrel. Who would wish to disturb or disprove so touching, beautiful, and poetical a legend?

Oh, the red and the white Rose, as all the kingdom knows,
Were emblems of the foes in a sad and bloody work;
When old England's noblest blood was poured out in a flood,
To quench the burning feud of Lancaster and York.

For then the rival Roses, worn by the rival houses,
The poor distracted nation into rage and frenzy drove—
Tore the children from the mother, tore the sister from the brother,
And the broken-hearted lover from the lady of his love:

When the Percys, Veres, and Nevilles, left their castle-halls and revels,
To rush like raging devils into the deadly fight;
And loyalty and reason were confounded by the treason
That cast into a prison the King of yesternight.

Oh, the red and the white Rose, upon Towton Moor it grows,
And red and white it blows upon that swarthe for evermore—
In memorial of the slaughter when the red blood ran like water,
And the victors gave no quarter in the flight from Towton Moor;

When the banners gay were beaming, and the steel cuirasses gleaming,
And the martial music streaming o'er that wide and lonely heath;
And many a heart was beating that dreamed not of retreating,
Which, ere the sun was setting, lay still and cold in death;

When the snow that fell at morning lay as a type and warning,
All stained and streaked with crimson, like the roses white and red,
And filled each thirsty furrow with its token of the sorrow
That wailed for many a morrow through the mansions of the dead.

Now for twice two hundred years, when the month of March appears,
All unchecked by plough or shears spring the roses red and white;
Nor can the hand of mortal close the subterranean portal
That gives to live immortal these emblems of the fight.

And as if they were enchanted, not a flower may be transplanted
From those fatal precincts, haunted by the spirits of the slain;
For howe'er the root you cherish, it shall fade away and perish
When removed beyond the marish of Towton's gory plain.

But old Britannia now wears the rose upon her brow,
That, blushing still, doth glow like the Queen of all her race—
The Rose that blooms victorious, and, ever bright and glorious,
Shall continue to reign o'er us in mercy, love, and grace.

R——.

THE TRADE IN OLD PAMPHLETS.

Old newspapers and old pamphlets, illustrating or relating to American history, are rising in value, and those who possess them make a mistake in not classifying and preserving them. That indefatigable book collector, Mr. Charles B. Norton, of this city, tells us that these documents are now sought after and bought with great eagerness by a large and increasing class of men. This is a good sign. During the last half-century numerous valuable works have been destroyed by their unthinking owners, impressed with the notion that a mouldy and perhaps worm-eaten volume, with long s's and quaint title-pages, can be of very little value at the present day. To such benighted individuals we would address an earnest exhortation to refrain from the destruction of any printed work, no matter how insignificant it may appear.

The wonderful history of England which has immortalized Macaulay, and made him a Peer of England, is an enduring testimony to the value with which a street song or a fragment of an old newspaper may be invested; while instances constantly occur in our own country which prove that we are right in counselling the preservation of everything that is printed, so long as such preservation, at least, entails no inconvenience or discomfort.

It is not long since the erudite assistant librarian of Harvard College, Mr. Ezra Abbott, stated that, in examining a number of barrels filled with books and pamphlets which had been sent to him, as matter of no value to their original possessor, he had discovered a copy of an old dictionary for which he had caused unavailing search to be made during a number of years, and which contained a scrap of much desired personal information.

In a similar manner an old copy of the New York *Gazette*, treasured during many years without particular object by a gentlemen of this city, was recently found to contain the stirring account of the "Repeal of the Stamp Act," which preceded the outbreak of the Revolution, and was presented to the American Numismatic Society, to whose library it formed a curious and valuable addition.

We were forcibly impressed with the valuable of these discarded old documents on recently visiting treasures which line the shelves of Norton's Depository of Antiquarian Works. A majority of these are writings relative to America—to the early history of the colonies to the Revolutionary period, with its immortal struggles and heroic leaders, or to the years of our existence when the republic was still young. Here we may meet with volumes worn and tattered with age and use, yet endowed with surpassing value in the eyes of the historian or the biographer. Hakluyt, Purchas, De Bry, Las Casas, Gage, Philopono, Plotemy, Raleigh, Smith, and a troop of valued names gleam out in the faded gilding of one, two, and even three hundred years ago; while heaps of pamphlets, collected from many a dusty garret and crowded store-room, where they have lain unheeded, perhaps, for scores of years, awaiting the coming of the antiquarian Dryasdust, for whom they have been sought out and brought to light. Here may be encountered the shining lights of modern literature as well as the faded relics of the past. Here Bancroft, Irving, Halleck, Folsom, Lossing, and many well-known writers may be met in pursuit of works that elucidate the subjects engaging their attention; besides scores of casual visitors, each with some specialty to satisfy.

Mr. Norton contemplates a journey to Europe for the express purpose of filling literary orders for colleges, public libraries, and private bookbuyers, and his trip in quest of literary treasures cannot fail to be beneficial to literature and profitable to literary men.—*Evening Post.*

THE LAW OF LOVE.

2 Kings, 4: 3.

Pour forth the oil—pour boldly forth;
It will not fail, until
Thou fullest vessels to provide
Which it may largely fill.

Make channels for the streams of love,
Where they may broadly run;
And love has overflowing streams,
To fill them every one.

But if at any time we cease
Such channels to provide,
The very founts of love for us
Will soon be parched and dried.

For we must share, if we would keep
That blessing from above;
Ceasing to give, we cease to have;
Such is the law of love. —*R. C. Trench.*

PAGET VS. MACAULAY.

It was perhaps not to be wondered at that Lord Macaulay should, in the first volumes and in the first editions of his history, have brought charges against William Penn, which more careful inquiry proved to be unfounded, and which, on their original promulgation, struck every reader as wholly irreconcilable with the established character of the celebrated Quaker and philanthropist; for few writers are always accurate, and accuracy never was Lord Macaulay's *forte*. Neither perhaps was it to be wondered at that Lord Macaulay should have painted the object of his accusation in colors so brilliantly and gaudily black; for it is his nature, and it forms one of the principal, though one of the least defensible, attractions of his style, to deal habitually, like Caravaggio, in the darkest shadows and the most startling and dazzling lights. But it is difficult to account for the peculiarly vicious and almost malignant *animus* which the historian manifests whenever the name of William Penn appears upon his pages—an animus scarcely warranted by his own accusations, even had they been correct, and resembling the persistent hatred with which men usually pursue only their own most personal and bitterest foes. For some reason or other—but certainly for some reason which does not appear, and which we shall not condescend to conjecture—Lord Macaulay had evidently set himself to the task of blackening Penn's character by every means which research, omission, paraphrase and misconstruction could supply to a writer of his uncommon powers, and discharged this task with the completeness, energy and *gusto* which we bestow only upon labors of love.

Still more difficult it is to account for the historian's persistence in these charges long after the errors into which he had fallen, the misreadings into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed, and the worthlessness of the evidence on which he had relied, had been pointed out to him and placed beyond reasonable doubt. At least, it is difficult to account for this persistence without having recourse to the supposition of motives too unworthy to influence a great man, and too mean and low to influence an honest man. Almost immediately on the first appearance of those fascinating volumes which were to convey to millions of passive and unbelieving minds accusations of guilt and baseness against a character hitherto thought to be one of the brightest and purest in English history—accusations which probably no subsequent defence or recantation will now be able to wipe out—Mr. W. E. Forster first, in a convincing pamphlet, and, following him, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, in an elaborate life of Penn, after a careful examination of the documentary and other evidence on which Lord Macaulay had relied, showed that no one of the charges could be maintained—that for some there was absolutely no foundation—and that the materials on which others were grounded had been altogether misquoted or misconceived. There were few even of Lord Macaulay's friends—fewer still, if any, of the general public—whom these refutations did not altogether satisfy. Yet edition after edition was suffered by the author to appear, containing the questioned and refuted charges, deliberately and silently reiterated; and not till the year just closed did he deign to take the slightest notice of the proofs and defences which had been submitted to his consideration. In the last edition, however, he has inserted a long note, in which he replies to the arguments and evidence adduced by Mr. W. E. Forster and Mr. Dixon, and declares that he adheres to all his former charges, and considers them fully justified. It is in consequence of this reiteration that Mr. Paget has again examined the whole question, and verified and amplified the former defence by reference to all the original documents bearing on the matter. The points are most clearly and convincingly worked out—the authorities consulted are all specified—and the result of the whole appears to us to leave Penn's character quite clear and his accuser's by no means so.

We have no space to give an analysis of the argument. Indeed it is so concise that it would not bear further condensation; and for the refutation to be properly appreciated, it must be followed step by step. The volume containing it is very small, and very neatly got up, and will scarcely require more than an hour to master.—*London Economist.*

THE LAST DAYS OF BURNS.

The following recollections of the last days of Burns were written by one who knew him well, and were published many years ago in the *London Magazine:*

"The first time I ever saw Burns was in Nithsdale. I was then a child, but his looks and his voice cannot well be forgotten; and while I write this I behold him as distinctly as I did when I stood at my father's knee, and heard the bard repeat his Tam o'Shanter. He was tall and of a manly make, his brow broad and high, and his voice varied with the character of his inimitable tale; yet through all its variations it was melody itself. He was of great personal strength, and proud too of displaying it; and I have seen him lift a load with ease, which few ordinary men would have willingly undertaken.

"The last time I saw Burns in life was on his return from the Brow-well of Solway; he had been ailing all spring, and summer had come without bringing health with it; he had gone away very ill and he returned worse. He was brought back, I think, in a covered spring cart, and when he alighted at the end of the street in which he lived, he could scarce stand upright. He reached his door with difficulty. He stooped much, and there was a visible change in his looks. Some may think it not unimportant to know that he was at that time dressed in a blue coat with the undress nankeen pantaloons of the volunteers, and that his neck, which was inclining to be short, caused his hat to turn up behind, in the manner of the shovel hats of the episcopal clergy. Truth obliges me to add that he was not fastidious about his dress, and that an officer, curious in the personal appearance and equipment of his company, might have questioned the military nicety of the poet's clothes and arms. But his colonel was a maker of rhyme, and the poet had to display more of his charity for his commander's verse than the other had to exercise when he inspected the clothing and arms of the careless bard. From the day of his return home till the hour of his untimely death, Dumfries was like a besieged place. It was known he was dying, and the anxiety, not of the rich and the learned only, but of the mechanics and peasants, exceeded all belief. Whenever two or three people stood together, their talk was of Burns, and of him alone; they spoke of his history—of his person—of his works—of his family—of his fame, and of his untimely and approaching fate, with a warmth and an enthusiasm which will ever endear Dumfries to my remembrance. All that he said or was saying—the opinions of the physicians (and Maxwell was a kind and skilful one, were eagerly caught up and reported from street to street, and from house to house.

"His good humor was unruffled, and his wit never forsook him. He looked to one of his fellow volunteers with a smile, as he stood by the bedside with his eyes wet, and said, 'John, don't let the awkward squad fire over me.' He was aware that death was dealing with him. He asked a lady who visited him, more in sincerity than in mirth, what commands she had for the other world; he repressed with a smile the hopes of his friends, and told them he had lived long enough. As he drew near a close, the eager yet decorous solicitude of his fellow-townsmen increased. He was an exciseman, it is true—a name odious, from many